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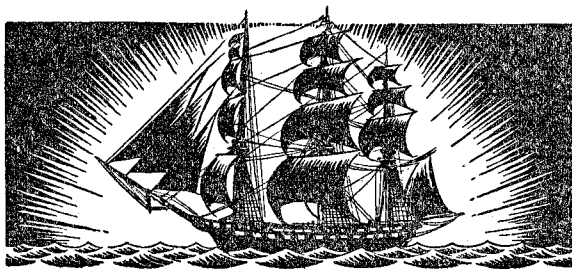
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The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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Emperor Frederick III and the German Liberal Movement

ANDREAS DORPALEN*

I

FREDERICK III, Germany's emperor for ninety-nine days in 1888, has always been considered something of a patron saint of German liberalism. In his youth he sided with Prussia's liberals when they were engaged in a bitter struggle with his father, King William I, over the latter's plans for expanding the Prussian army. Later, long after Bismarck had succeeded in breaking up the liberal movement, the crown prince was still said to seek the advice of liberal leaders rather than that of the conservative chancellor. Above all, he was believed to have convinced himself, under the influence of his English wife, of the superiority of England's parliamentary system over the semiautocracies of Prussia and Germany. Impatiently German progressives awaited his accession, confident that he would steer the country away from the illiberal course on which it had been directed by Bismarck. Yet when Frederick finally succeeded William I, he was fatally ill. His death, a little

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over three months later, and the accession of his son, William II, buried all hopes for a liberalization of the empire. In the memory of many Germans, however, Frederick III survived as the one great champion of liberalism on the imperial throne. While most historians agree with them, occasional doubts have been voiced. It is the purpose of the present study to examine Frederick's relationship, as crown prince and emperor, to the liberal movement of his time.¹

Frederick William of Prussia—he shortened the name to Frederick on his accession to the throne—was born in 1831, the son of the then Prince William of Prussia and Princess Augusta, a daughter of the grand duke of Saxe-Weimar. The marriage of William and Augusta was not happy; the two had little, if anything, in common. William, brought up in the military tradition of the Hohenzollerns, was an enthusiastic soldier and a rigid disciplinarian. Augusta, on the other hand, had in her childhood absorbed the artistic and intellectual atmosphere of Weimar which had made that Thuringian town an outstanding cultural center.

The tension existing between the parents did not fail to leave its impress on their son. Both William and Augusta were domineering personalities, determined to bring up the child according to very definite but very divergent ideas. Torn between them, Frederick William, a shy and sensitive boy,² needed guidance and reassurance, which neither parent gave him. The father terrified him—"it has come to the point that Fritz starts up at hearing his father come," Augusta once complained.³ The mother, on the other hand, never concealed from the son her low opinion of his intellectual abilities.⁴ Not unnaturally, therefore, the boy developed feelings of inferiority from

¹ Of those who consider Frederick a true liberal, we may mention Martin Philippson, *Das Leben Kaiser Friedrichs III.* (Wiesbaden, 1908); Eugen Wolbe, *Kaiser Friedrich: Die Tragödie des Übergangenen* (Hellerau, 1931); Werner Richter, *Kaiser Friedrich III.* (Zurich, 1938); Paul Matter, *Bismarck et son temps* (Paris, 1905-1908), III, 547, but see also II, 477; William Harbutt Dawson, *The German Empire* (London, 1919), II, 218 ff.; Johannes Ziekursch, *Politische Geschichte des neuen deutschen Kaiserreichs* (Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1925-30), II, 415 ff.; Julius Heyderhoff, ed., *Deutscher Liberalismus im Zeitalter Bismarcks* (Bonn and Leipzig, 1925), I, 10-11; Erich Eyck, *Bismarck: Leben und Werk* (Erlenbach-Zurich, 1941-44), III, 500-507; George N. Shuster and Arnold Bergstraesser, *Germany: A Short History* (New York, 1944), p. 100; Veit Valentin, *The German People: Their History and Civilization from the Holy Roman Empire to the Third Reich* (New York, 1946), p. 502. His liberalism has been questioned by Wilhelm Mommsen, *Politische Geschichte von Bismarck bis zur Gegenwart* (Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1935), pp. 98-99; and Arthur Rosenberg, *The Birth of the German Republic* (New York, 1931), p. 34. The question is raised but not answered in R. Holtzmann, ed., *Gebhardt's Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte* (Stuttgart, Berlin, Leipzig, 1931), II, 566.

² Königin Augusta von Preussen, *Bekenntnisse an eine Freundin* (Dresden, 1935), p. 165.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 251; Margarethe von Poschinger, *Kaiser Friedrich* (Berlin, 1899-1900), I, 429-30. Frederick never overcame this fear of his father, Marie von Bunsen, *Lost Courts of Europe* (New York and London, 1930), p. 212.

⁴ Poschinger, I, 63; Prince Albert to Princess Augusta, Mar. 9 and May 16, 1858, Kurt Jagow, ed., *Letters of the Prince Consort* (London, 1938), pp. 296, 302.

which he was to suffer throughout his life. A strong disinclination toward any sustained intellectual effort, moreover, prevented him from achieving that independence of mind which might have helped him to overcome his basic diffidence.⁵ As a result, his political ideas were strictly conventional in his early years—those of a Prussian nobleman absorbed in military activities and violently opposed to the liberal idea of a united Germany.⁶

A trip to England, however, in the fall of 1855, led to a definite change in his outlook. He spent a few weeks in Balmoral, the summer residence of the English royal family. The free, congenial atmosphere of court life in the Scottish highlands, the calm, confident manner of queen and prince consort, the absence of rigid formality and military discipline left a lasting mark on his impressionable mind.⁷ For once he could be himself, without fear of ridicule or reprimand. From that time on he looked upon England as a refuge from the complexities of life at home.⁸ In Prince Albert he found, moreover, the patient and sympathetic mentor which neither father nor mother had ever been to him. Albert took a deep interest in the young man who during that first visit became engaged to his eldest (and favorite) daughter Victoria. Of German descent himself, the prince consort was keenly aware of the contrast between the political life in England and that in the German states. By English standards Prussia in particular had hardly outgrown the feudal stage. Here was an opportunity to mold the views of a future ruler of Prussia, and the prince consort seized upon it eagerly.

Under Albert's influence Frederick William began to move away from the small clique of Junkers, military men, and church dignitaries which then dominated Prussia's political life. As his father, too, had come to oppose the prevailing pietistic, ultrareactionary trend in Prussian politics, he found it easier to take this step.⁹ But where the father wanted to amend a few particularly offensive excesses, the son proposed to go much farther and apply English constitutional practices wholesale to Prussia.¹⁰

Yet Frederick William seems to have acted less from deep-rooted convic-

⁵ E. Ribbeck, "Eine Knabenfreundschaft Kaiser Friedrichs III.," *Deutsche Rundschau*, CXIII (1902), 202; Otto von Bismarck to his wife, Sept. 12, 1849, Otto von Bismarck, *Die gesammelten Werke*, ed. by Wolfgang Windelband and Werner Frauendienst (Berlin, 1923-33), XIV, 1, 141; *Aus dem Leben Theodor von Bernhardis* (Leipzig, 1893-95), II, 243.

⁶ Kaiser Friedrich III., *Tagebücher von 1848-1866*, ed. by Heinrich Otto Meisner (Leipzig, 1929), Mar. 18 and 21, 1848, pp. 7, 28; Ribbeck, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, p. 209; Major General von Unruh to Frederick William, Mar. 20, 1852, Poschinger, I, 129; Leopold von Gerlach, *Denkwürdigkeiten* (Berlin, 1891-92), I, 615.

⁷ Robert Dohme, "Erinnerungen an Kaiser Friedrich," *Deutsche Revue*, XLVII (1922), 1, 121; Hans Delbrück, *Erinnerungen, Aufsätze und Reden* (Berlin, 1902), pp. 75-76.

⁸ *Tagebücher*, Sept. 28, Nov. 6, Dec. 15, 1863, pp. 215, 220, 227; Dohme, in *Deutsche Rev.*, pp. 7-8, 123.

⁹ Bernhardt, II, 242, 330, 355, 375.

¹⁰ Augusta, p. 251. (No date given.)

tions than from a youthful enthusiasm over a new discovery. Soon close observers began to wonder how long he would persist in his new views and interests. His mother in particular expressed fears lest he come again under the old nefarious influences. At times Albert, too, appears to have shared these misgivings. They were not unjustified. The prince's interest in liberal ideas was genuine enough, but in the stifling atmosphere of the Berlin court even a stronger character would have found it difficult not to yield to the prevailing conservative pressures.¹¹ Significantly, complaints about the prince's lack of consistency became less frequent after his marriage to Princess Victoria. The young woman plunged with the zealous ardor of a missionary into the task of combating the influence of army and Junkers on her husband. The effects of her endeavors were quickly felt. Intellectually his superior, she soon was able to exercise a steadying influence on Frederick William.¹² Her task was facilitated by the fact that in a clearly political demonstration the population of Berlin had given her a jubilant reception at her wedding.¹³ Evidently Berliners welcomed in her the representative of new and popular ideas—an implication not lost upon the prince.

Late in 1858 Prussia took a few cautious steps toward a more progressive policy. With King Frederick William IV incurably insane, Prince William became regent of Prussia. Upon his assumption of the regency he proposed a number of limited reforms which he considered indispensable. An end was to be put to corruption and the ever-increasing influence of certain circles in the Lutheran Church on politics. For the rest, however, William declared himself in favor of "sound, strong, conservative principles."¹⁴

Despite its limitations this modest program was greeted enthusiastically by Prussia's liberals.¹⁵ To be sure, liberalism had achieved very little. But the Prussian, and for that matter the German, liberal of that time did not measure political success in terms of power political gains. To him political problems were primarily moral and legal. He descended into the political arena to defend his convictions rather than to attain power, and the maintenance of

¹¹ Bernhardt, II, 342, 345; Poschinger, I, 199–201; *Memoirs of Ernest II, Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha* (London, 1888–90), II, 345–47, III, 223–24; Albert to Ernest, Apr. 22, 1858, H. Bolitho, ed., *The Prince and His Brother: 200 New Letters* (New York, 1934), pp. 183–84.

¹² Johann Gustav Droysen to Wilhelm Arendt, Dec. 16, 1859, Johann Gustav Droysen, *Briefwechsel*, ed. by Rudolf Hübner (Berlin and Leipzig, 1929), II, 651; Albert to Ernest, July 12, 1861, Bolitho, p. 214.

¹³ Bernhardt, III, 5.

¹⁴ Erich Brandenburg, ed., *Briefe Kaiser Wilhelms des Ersten* (Leipzig, 1911), pp. 132 ff.

¹⁵ Karl Francke to Max Duncker, and Karl Mathy to same, Nov. 24, 1858, Max Duncker, *Politischer Briefwechsel aus seinem Nachlass*, ed. by Johannes Schultze (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1923), pp. 77–79; Grand Duke Frederick of Baden to William, Nov. 10, 1858, Hermann Oncken, ed., *Grossherzog Friedrich I. von Baden und die deutsche Politik von 1854–1871: Briefwechsel, Denkschriften, Tagebücher* (Stuttgart, Berlin, and Leipzig, 1927), I, 76–77; Gebhardt, II, 387.

justice and morality was more important to him than the question of parliamentary representation.¹⁶ Viewing the state above all as a system of law and order, he could therefore greet the inauguration of the "New Era" program as an important victory. It put an end to the violation of constitutional and other legal guarantees, it insisted on the observation of the law, it promised to protect citizens against political and other pressures. The restoration of law, moreover, brought nearer again the realization of the most cherished foreign political objective of Prussian liberalism—the unification of Germany under Prussia's leadership. In accordance with liberal principles, this could be achieved solely by "moral conquests," based, in turn, on a domestic policy of legality and morality. As the "New Era" program put it, Prussia could obtain a leading position in Germany only by "wise legislation, by strengthening all moral elements, and by supporting such unifying factors as the *Zollverein*."

Frederick William, too, welcomed his father's program, convinced that the liberal cause had scored an important victory. He was unable to understand the reservations with which some left-wing liberals accepted the new policy, and he denounced bitterly these "insanely ultraliberalistic movements."¹⁷ Similarly he considered "tactless" the demands of the lower house of the Prussian *Landtag* for the dismissal of certain reactionary officials.¹⁸ And yet he was not happy. As his diary suggests, he did not feel fully at ease in his new political alignment which was viewed with contempt and hostility by his entourage. He tried to persuade himself that he was merely accepting a political necessity,¹⁹ but he regretted deeply his growing estrangement from army and aristocracy which had always been the closest associates of the Hohenzollerns. "In this unfortunate feeling of regret," one observer noted, "the Junker party has one of its most effective allies."²⁰

Events, however, forced Frederick William to take sides more definitely. In January, 1861, upon the death of Frederick William IV, Prince Regent William became king of Prussia. William could now devote himself to long-laid plans for the reorganization and expansion of the Prussian army, whose weakness had caused the country many a diplomatic setback during the pre-

¹⁶ Hansgeorg Schroth, "Welt- und Staatsideen des deutschen Liberalismus in der Zeit der Einheits- und Freiheitskämpfe 1859–1866," *Historische Studien*, CCI (1931), 85 ff.; Otto Westphal, *Welt- und Staatsauffassung des deutschen Liberalismus* (Munich and Berlin, 1919), pp. 255 ff.; Heyderhoff, I, 5; Wilhelm Schaffrath and Julius Freese to Karl Twesten, Oct. 1 and 5, 1865, *ibid.*, I, 257–59.

¹⁷ *Tagebücher*, p. xxii.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Jan. 26, 1861, p. 80.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, July 10, Sept. 19, 1862, pp. 151, 160.

²⁰ Bernhardt, III, 228; *Tagebücher*, Mar. 16, 1860, p. 295. The Junkers themselves do not seem to have taken the prince's liberalism too seriously at that time. Early in 1860 Bernhardt heard of a plan to force William from the throne lest he make further concessions to the liberals. Frederick William was to succeed him and suspend the constitution. Bernhardt, III, 289, 293.

ceding years. The reforms he proposed provided for an increase in the annual number of recruits (still based on the population figures of the Napoleonic Wars) and for the incorporation of the greater part of the citizens' militia into the regular army. The *Landtag* approved of the proposed increase and technical improvements, but the lower house balked at the reduction of the militia to an insignificant force. The reason for this opposition was political—as a citizens' army the militia, unlike the regular army, was sympathetic to the political hopes and demands of the nation. As a part of the regular army, on the other hand, it was bound to become a tool in the hands of the professional military (which, incidentally, was one of the reasons for the proposed reform). The deputies refused therefore to grant the required appropriations. At first interim arrangements were made, but in 1862 a showdown became inevitable.

For a long time Frederick William appeared surprisingly unaffected by this conflict. His diary, which contains almost daily entries for 1861 and 1862, mentions it rarely. He was "firmly convinced" of the need for the reorganization, as he wrote Bismarck in September, 1862, but, as he added, "it is an unchangeable principle of mine that so significant and far-reaching a measure cannot and must not be carried out without the support of the country."²¹ Accordingly, he favored the reduction of the proposed military budget when after the dissolution of the lower house in 1861 the newly elected deputies opposed the army reforms by an even greater majority.²²

The few observations he did confide to his diary show, however, that he viewed the conflict more in terms of his own future than as a clash of basic political principles.²³ Liberal leaders close to his political adviser, Max Duncker, impressed him with reports of the growing strength of their movement. They let him know that they would not rest until the goal of union and constitutional liberty had been realized. They also warned him that the overwhelming majority of the Prussian people would never tolerate a military state, but would insist on a regime of law and order "headed by the father of his country rather than by a medieval soldier king."²⁴ His father's minister of war, General von Roon, on the other hand, gave him to understand that his future depended on the success of the military reforms. At the same time his entourage suggested to him in barely veiled threats that the army would never permit him to ascend the throne if he became too closely identified with liberal aspirations. And, as if in confirmation, recurring rumors told of an army

²¹ Letter of Sept. 28, 1862, *Tagebücher*, p. 503.

²² Ludolf Parisius, *Leopold Freiherr von Hoverbeck* (Berlin, 1897), II, 1, 44-45.

²³ *Tagebücher*, July 10, Sept. 19, 1862, pp. 151, 160.

²⁴ Parisius, II, 1, 22.

plot to obtain the abdication of both king and crown prince in favor of their nephew and cousin, Prince Frederick Charles, an ardent supporter of the military clique.²⁵

With his future so obviously dependent upon the outcome of the conflict, what was Frederick William to do? A clear answer was not easily to be found. Under the prodding of wife and advisers he had become increasingly aware of the shortcomings of the existing system. He was, moreover, convinced that liberalism was the political movement of the future with which the monarchy would have to come to terms. But at the same time he sensed uneasily that a liberal victory would mean a weakening of the royal power—a prospect thoroughly distasteful to him.²⁶ Moreover, would he not hasten this process by publicly opposing the king? Other factors had to be considered too. For the time being, army and aristocracy still appeared to constitute the real power in the state. Too open a challenge of these forces, he was afraid, could cost him the throne. There was finally the question whether he could ever repudiate the ties binding him to Prussia's officer corps of which he was so proud a member and of which he expected to become the supreme commander one day!²⁷

Duncker's moderation spared him the necessity of resolving his dilemma. He advised the prince to work quietly for a more liberal policy but to keep in mind that his opposition to his father must, in the interest of the dynasty, never go so far as to provoke a break with the king.²⁸ In its noncommittal way the suggestion greatly appealed to the crown prince; it seemed to provide the perfect solution for his difficulties.

In September, 1862, the crisis came to a head. With the lower house unwilling to grant any further appropriations, the government advised the king that it could not carry out the proposed reforms. William, however, refused to abandon his plans. Primarily a soldier, he was genuinely alarmed about the military state of the country. If he failed in what he considered his duty, he was ready to abdicate in favor of his son.

Frederick William was then thirty-one years old. He was opposed to the influence of the military party on Prussian politics, he objected to his father's disregard of the *Landtag* after the auspicious beginnings of the "New Era." Above all, he feared that the latter's plans might deprive Prussia of her lead-

²⁵ *Tagebücher*, Apr. 11, July 10, 1862, pp. 134-35, 151; Bernhardi, IV, 338; Max Duncker to Ernst von Stockmar, Sept. 21, 1862, Duncker, p. 335; Matter, II, 94.

²⁶ Poschinger, II, 283-84; Heinrich Otto Meisner, *Der preussische Kronprinz im Verfassungskampf 1863* (Berlin, 1931), p. 50; Dohme, in *Deutsche Rev.*, pp. 128-29.

²⁷ Delbrück, pp. 75-76.

²⁸ Letter to State Councilor Karl Francke, Mar. 13, 1862, Duncker, p. 324; Rudolf Haym, *Das Leben Max Dunckers* (Berlin, 1891), pp. 267-74.

ing role in Germany, turning the more liberal states of southern Germany against reaction-ridden Berlin.²⁹ Under these circumstances he could have been expected to welcome the chance of ascending the throne himself. It would give him the opportunity to attempt the peaceable reconciliation of the clashing interests of army and bourgeoisie which he had advocated all along. But torn between conflicting loyalties, fearful of the possible effects of a change of rulers on both camps, he was frightened at the thought of having to assume the government in his father's place. Everything in him revolted against such a possibility. Never inclined to fight for his beliefs, he dreaded conflict. Moreover, since the prestige of the dynasty was all-important to him, the idea of starting his reign with a defeat of the crown seemed anything but attractive. There was finally the great respect bordering on fear he felt for his father—"the idea of ascending the throne over his father while he was still alive terrified him."³⁰ "Now the crisis has broken out in full force," he noted on September 18, 1862, "and in addition to many other calamities we are faced with the worst—the idea of abdication! May God help us!"³¹ The following day he saw his father: "I warned him about the immeasurable danger which such a step would imply for the crown, country, and dynasty. . . . All remonstrances are in vain. What a dreadful situation for me!"³²

He need not have worried. Most of the king's advisers were just as determined to keep him away from the throne as he was anxious not to ascend it. To them he was the protagonist of the liberals whose reign, they were afraid, would seriously reduce, if not altogether eliminate, the political influence of military and aristocracy.³³ William, they felt on the other hand, could be persuaded, if necessary, to ignore the *Landtag* and proceed with the army reorganization against its will. The problem was merely to find someone ready to defy the deputies and carry out the plans of the army regardless of their decisions.

The man was found in Otto von Bismarck, then Prussia's minister to France. An urgent telegram from his close friend Roon called him back to Berlin. Presenting himself to the king, he expressed his willingness to proceed with the reforms over the opposition of the *Landtag*. He was at once put in charge of the government.

To the crown prince the appointment came as a surprise.³⁴ Although it ended the immediate crisis, he did not welcome it. As he saw it, the victory

²⁹ Letter of Nov. 4, 1861, to William I, *Tagebücher*, pp. 488–91.

³⁰ Philippon, pp. 103–104. ³¹ *Tagebücher*, pp. 159–60.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 160. ³³ Parisius, II, 1, 79.

³⁴ *Tagebücher*, Sept. 23, 1862, p. 161.

of the Junkers could lead to little good. He decided to spend the rest of the year on a Mediterranean trip. His absence would provide him with a useful alibi. At least he would not be associated with the policies of the new minister president.³⁵

Yet if Frederick William expected thus to appease liberal opinion, he was mistaken. From the day of Bismarck's appointment the liberals waited for him to express his disapproval of the new government. They waited in vain. Following Duncker's advice, the prince refrained from making any public statement. Moreover, upon his return to Berlin, he extended his self-imposed silence to the meetings of the ministry which he attended in order to acquaint himself with governmental affairs. "He sits in the council like a statue and as a *memento mori*," one observer described him. "In vain have the ministers tried to obtain his opinion. This silence is to prevent his being compromised in the eyes of the people and is to avoid, at the same time, a break with his father."³⁶

Few, however, saw in his passivity evidence of his opposition to Bismarck. Rumors began to circulate that the prince had abandoned the liberal cause. "The country is being alienated from the dynasty as a result of the passive attitude of the crown prince," the popular novelist Gustav Freytag noted. "The opposition demands that he state his position to the people and take sides. The position of the crown prince is precarious. Even among the more reasonable people the idea is being circulated that in a monarchy the divine right swindle and the Junkers could easily be dealt with by a deviation from the legitimate succession."³⁷ Freytag, to be sure, attached undue importance to the idea of a small group which thought vaguely of asking Grand Duke Frederick I of Baden, the son-in-law of William I, to ascend Prussia's throne after the latter's death.³⁸ But there is ample evidence that Frederick William's failure to act caused deep disappointment in liberal circles. The historian Hermann Baumgarten spoke for many when he complained to his colleague Heinrich von Sybel:

I have reason to assume that nothing has been left undone to inform the crown prince about the situation and the duties it imposes upon him. But from what I hear I must consider him unable to achieve anything in important matters. Evidently he is as insignificant in intellect as he is in character. I have long ceased to

³⁵ Duncker to Droysen, Oct. 21, 1862, Droysen, II, 801; Bernhardt, IV, 326; Haym, pp. 277-78.

³⁶ Karl Samwer to Gustav Freytag, Feb. 28, 1863, Heyderhoff, I, 133.

³⁷ To Duke Ernest of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Feb. 9, 1863, quoted in Fritz Kämpf, *Gustav Freytag und das Kronprinzenpaar Friedrich Wilhelm* (doctoral thesis, University of Leipzig, 1932), p. 23.

³⁸ Freytag to Mathy, Mar. 3, 1863, Heyderhoff, I, 133; see also note 47 below.

expect anything from him, and I think you will do well to resign yourself too to this fact.³⁹

Despite this criticism Duncker advised the prince to maintain his attitude of passive resistance.⁴⁰ As a close associate of the latter he appreciated the difficulties with which the prince was faced in a strongly entrenched conservative, if not reactionary, entourage—problems of which his liberal critics as a rule were little aware. Other confidants, however, disagreed. Alarmed over the unfavorable reaction to Frederick William's silence, they suggested some overt action which would clarify his position. Gustav Freytag prodded the reluctant prince most persistently. "Privately I have put myself the task . . . of rousing the crown prince of Prussia *against the existing system*," he told his friend Mathy. "I almost killed myself, threatening and imploring both Berlin and England. They agree with me, but the thing is difficult. . . . Now the mother-in-law is our last hope; she has promised her help."⁴¹

Frederick William felt helpless in this complex situation. Passive resistance had seemed an easy and safe way out; now Freytag and others warned him that he might sooner or later have to take a definite stand. When the idea was first broached to him, he quickly agreed: "Freytag is right. It is good to be forced by circumstances to give up half-way measures."⁴² Probably the need for action seemed still too remote then to be envisaged as a concrete possibility. Yet as the need became more apparent, he faced it with growing uneasiness.⁴³

Action became imperative when Bismarck proposed to check the growing opposition by certain curbs on the press. The proposal was first made in April but was not pursued at that time. Bismarck brought it up again in May when the struggle with the lower house became particularly bitter. Frederick William, who followed the discussion in the council of ministers, realized that this violation of a constitutional right might force him into open opposition. Deeply perturbed, he poured his doubts and fears into a letter to his brother-in-law, the grand duke of Baden: "The government may possibly promulgate decrees which may not seem incompatible with the constitution, yet may be considered violations of the constitution by the country. My position is going to be very difficult in that case, because I would have to protest. But once the different explanations and interpretations start a nice controversy, who is going to find out the quintessence?"⁴⁴ The grand duke's answer was far from reassuring. Present conditions must seem hopeless to the Prussian peo-

³⁹ May 22, 1863, *ibid.*, I, 151.

⁴⁰ Haym, pp. 288-91.

⁴¹ Mar. 3, 1863, Heyderhoff, I, 133; see also Samwer to Freytag, Apr. 5, 1863, *ibid.*, I, 143.

⁴² Samwer to Freytag, Feb. 28, 1863, *ibid.*, I, 133.

⁴³ *Tagebücher*, Apr. 9, 1863, p. 193.

⁴⁴ May 20, 1863, Oncken, I, 344.

ple, he replied. For this reason the crown prince should act "so that the people . . . may have new hope." He suggested that Frederick William warn the king against the promulgation of the proposed decrees.⁴⁵ Uneasily Frederick William wrote his father a letter in which he explained, cautiously and apologetically, his serious misgivings. Almost self-abasing in its tenor, the letter gives pathetic expression to the fear of which the crown prince could never rid himself in his relations with his father.⁴⁶

The next day he left Berlin to attend army maneuvers in West Prussia. That same day the press decree was promulgated. Loosely worded, it gave police authorities almost complete freedom in dealing with the press, empowering them to suspend newspapers and magazines virtually as they saw fit. In fact, it made the expression of practically any oppositional viewpoint illegal.⁴⁷ The crown prince learned of the step two days later. "What else can I do but send a protest to Bismarck," he noted nervously in his diary, "and what misfortune may come of it? God help us!"⁴⁸ Hateful as the thought of opposing his father was to him, he brought himself to write once more to both king and Bismarck, warning them again against the risks of their arbitrary policies and expressing his disapproval.⁴⁹ But more was expected of him than confidential protests. When he reached Danzig the next day, his reception there was unusually cold; "people are truly enraged about the press decree."⁵⁰ The mayor, Leopold von Winter, a prominent liberal, urged him to state publicly his opposition to the decree. Winter had an energetic ally in the crown princess, who, as she wrote afterwards to her mother, "did all I could to induce Fritz to do so."⁵¹ At their insistence the prince decided to speak out. As he wrote Duncker who had advised against such a step, "I could not act otherwise in view of my future and that of my children."⁵² When Winter welcomed him formally at the town hall and expressed his

⁴⁵ May 29, 1863, *ibid.*, I, 346.

⁴⁶ *Tagebücher*, May 31, 1863, pp. 196-97. The letter is reprinted in Meisner, pp. 65-66.

⁴⁷ The legal basis for the decree was found in Art. 63 of the Prussian constitution of 1850 which empowered the king to issue decrees with the power of formal laws if public security was endangered and the *Landtag* could not act quickly enough. No such danger existed, however, at that time. Plans to make Grand Duke Frederick of Baden king of Prussia were circulated but never taken seriously. "You would not find anyone in Prussia," wrote Sybel to Baumgarten in June, 1863, "who would not consider any thought of violence stupid and criminal, since it would certainly be suppressed immediately." June 17, 1863, Heyderhoff, I, 156; also I, 20; Ludwig Bergstraesser, "Kritische Studien zur Konfliktzeit," *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, XIX (1919-20), 368 ff.

⁴⁸ *Tagebücher*, June 3, 1863, pp. 197-98.

⁴⁹ Victoria to Queen Victoria, June 8, 1863, Sir Frederick Ponsonby, ed., *Letters of Empress Frederick* (London, 1928), p. 41; Matter, II, 127.

⁵⁰ *Tagebücher*, June 4, 1863, p. 198.

⁵¹ June 8, 1863, Ponsonby, *loc. cit.*

⁵² Frederick William to Duncker, June 10-14, 1863, Duncker, pp. 348-49; also Duncker's letter to him, June 5, 1863, Meisner, pp. 71-73; Haym, p. 294.

regret that they did not meet under happier circumstances, Frederick William replied after some introductory remarks:

I too regret that I have come here at a time at which a conflict has developed between government and people of which I learned with great surprise. I did not know anything about the decrees which have brought it about. I was away. I had nothing to do with the consultations which led to their promulgation. But we all, and I most of all, since I know best the noble and fatherly intentions and generous sentiments of the King, we all are confident that Prussia, under the scepter of His Majesty, will achieve the greatness for which Providence has marked her out.⁵³

Frederick William had entered the political arena very reluctantly. He had done so finally out of fear that the course chosen by Bismarck might lead to an overthrow of the monarchy.⁵⁴ Now he had acted, but hardly had he voiced his protest when the old fears beset him again. How would the king react? Would he understand that the son's criticism was not directed against him but against the "dangerous theories" of Bismarck? If not, would this lead to the dreaded break with him? "I cannot even think of this dreadful possibility, it makes me sick."⁵⁵ A letter of Victoria to her mother, two days later, pictures him "in a state of perfect misery, and in consequence not at all well. . . . The thought of his father makes him feel powerless."⁵⁶ Worst perhaps was the feeling of isolation which never left the prince during these days. Except for his wife there was no one with whom he could have shared his thoughts. His liberal advisers had stayed behind; his military entourage he knew were hostile, or at best indifferent, to his views. "We are in this critical situation without a secretary, without a single person to give advice, to write for us, or to help us," Victoria complained to her mother. ". . . We are surrounded with spies, who watch all we do, and most likely report all to Berlin, in a sense to checkmate everything we do. The Liberal papers are forbidden, so we do not even know what is going on."⁵⁷

For once, however, Frederick William refused to give in. While he pledged himself, in answer to his father's immediate request, not to voice any

⁵³ This part of the speech is reprinted in Meisner, p. 73, according to a "toned down" version of *Leipziger Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, July 8, 1863. Prussian newspapers could not publish the address because of the press decree.

⁵⁴ In addition to previous references, see *Tagebücher*, June 6 and 7, 1863, pp. 198-99; Frederick William to William I, June 7, 1863, Meisner, pp. 74-75; Duncker to August von Saucken, June 16, 1863, Duncker, p. 353; *Denkwürdigkeiten des Botschafters General von Schweinitz* (Berlin, 1927), I, 154-55.

⁵⁵ *Tagebücher*, June 5 and 6, 1863, pp. 198-99.

⁵⁶ June 8, 1863, Ponsonby, pp. 41-42; to Queen Augusta, June 11, 1863, Meisner, pp. 81-82.

⁵⁷ June 21, 1863, Ponsonby, pp. 43-44. The date is incorrect. Since the letter mentions that the king had not yet given them his final decision concerning the Danzig incident, it must have been written on or before June 11, when they received that decision. *Tagebücher*, June 11, 1863, p. 200.

further public protest against the policies of the government, he rejected, most likely at the insistence of Victoria, William's further demand for a public retraction of his Danzig statement. "I realize the possible consequences of such an attitude," he wrote to William, "but please be convinced that I shall take risks and suffer for my convictions with the same courage with which you, dear Papa, once did for yours."⁵⁸

Risks there were. As an officer the prince was guilty of insubordination and liable to confinement in a fortress for several years. Such punishment had been inflicted on the young Frederick the Great for "desertion" when he tried, unsuccessfully, to escape to England from his father's barracks regime. William I was too much of a soldier not to consider it in the case of his son, and many a member of court and army would have rejoiced had he applied it. But Bismarck insisted that the prince must not become a martyr for the liberal cause. The moral encouragement the liberals would draw from the prosecution of Frederick William, the minister president pointed out, could easily jeopardize the position of both king and government.⁵⁹ In consequence, the king contented himself with a sharp rebuke, and, to Frederick William's great relief, an unexpectedly early reconciliation became possible. The struggle had all but exhausted him. When William, in a second sharply critical letter, declared the incident closed, he was overjoyed. "I lay my thanks at your feet," he gratefully wired the king.⁶⁰

While the Danzig address failed to call a halt to the arbitrary policies of Bismarck, it accomplished little more in its efforts to reassure the liberals of Frederick William's continued opposition to the minister president and the military party. It was not the outspoken straightforward statement for which Prussia's and Germany's liberals had hoped. In its ambiguity it confused rather than clarified the situation. To Frederick William this reaction came as a surprise. Had he not done all he could? As he wrote his brother-in-law, "my concluding remarks about Papa to which [people] object were the least a son could do and also the most appropriate remark which I could make."⁶¹ Yet what most liberals objected to even more was his statement that he had been surprised by the promulgation of the press decree. Since it was well known in political circles that Bismarck had planned this step for some time,

⁵⁸ June 7, 1863, Meisner, pp. 74-75. Frederick William alludes here to William's bitter opposition to concessions which King Frederick William IV granted to the revolutionaries of 1848 during the early stages of the rising—an opposition which forced him to go temporarily into exile in England.

⁵⁹ Meisner, pp. 75-79; *Tagebücher*, June 11, 1863, p. 200; Matter, II, 129.

⁶⁰ June 11, 1863, Meisner, p. 81; *Tagebücher*, June 11, 1863, p. 200.

⁶¹ Oncken, I, 350.

the crown prince, it was charged, was either insincere or extraordinarily unobservant.⁶²

Partly in order to offset this unfavorable impression, partly in order to support the liberal opposition further, Frederick William was urged to follow up the Danzig protest with other actions. Baron von Roggenbach, the premier of Baden, suggested that the prince resign from all offices he was holding.⁶³ Other advisers demanded new public statements to harass Bismarck.⁶⁴ There was even some thought of bringing about a complete break between father and son. But calmer councils prevailed, and the idea was quickly dropped.⁶⁵ In the end, at the suggestion of Victoria and his secretary Ernst von Stockmar, and disregarding the earlier promise he had made his father, the prince sent Bismarck a note, warning him that he might find it necessary under certain circumstances to utter further public protests.⁶⁶

In August he saw the king for the first time since the Danzig incident. William I insisted on carrying out his projected army reforms. If necessary, the lower house would be dissolved again; "the country must obey." Bismarck expressed himself in similar terms. The crown prince left the meeting "greatly perturbed about my own and the Fatherland's future."⁶⁷ A few days later he noted in his diary that the antagonism against Prussia was constantly growing in South Germany. "Even generally calm observers predict a revolution. . . ."⁶⁸ As he saw it, king and government were headed for disaster.⁶⁹ It became a question of self-preservation for him to withdraw from public affairs as much as possible. In September he asked for, and received, permission to stay away from the meetings of the cabinet while Bismarck remained in office. The rest of the year he spent away from Berlin, mostly in England, in a determined effort to avoid all further identification with the policies of the government.

⁶² Karl Vincke-Olbendorf to Duncker, June 9, 1863, Duncker, p. 347. Frederick William explained—in the above quoted letter to Frederick of Baden—that he used the expression "surprise" to "document that I had been left completely *ex nexu*; the expression 'surprise' was not to refer to the conflict which had already existed a long time." On the other hand, Victoria informed her mother that "his speech in Danzig was intended to convey in a clear and *unzweideutig* way to his hearers, that he had *nothing* to do with the unconstitutional acts of the Government—that he was not even aware of their being in contemplation!" June 21 (?), 1863, Ponsonby, p. 43.

⁶³ Roggenbach to Frederick of Baden, June 12, 1863, Oncken, I, 348.

⁶⁴ Mathy to Freytag, June 17–19, 1863, Heyderhoff, I, 157; Kurt von Saucken-Tarputschen to Ludolf Parisius, Summer, 1863, Parisius, II, 1, 168; Samwer to Stockmar, Sept. 4, 1863, Meisner, pp. 148–49.

⁶⁵ Mathy, *loc. cit.*; Hermann Schulze-Delitzsch to Freytag, July 12–14, 1863, Heyderhoff, I, 161; Haym, pp. 301, 307.

⁶⁶ June 30, 1863, Ponsonby, pp. 46–47.

⁶⁷ *Tagebücher*, Aug. 11 and 12, 1863, pp. 208–209.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Aug. 24, 1863, p. 212.

⁶⁹ Frederick William to Queen Augusta, Oct. 19, 1863, Meisner, pp. 168–69.

II

Frederick William maintained contact with the liberal movement not only because of its potentialities in Prussia but also because it seemed to offer the only possibility of unifying Germany under Prussia's leadership. Bismarck's policies, on the other hand, seemed to jeopardize all chances of a Prussian-controlled unification of the German states.

Unsure of himself, aware of his intellectual limitations, Frederick William depended all his life on the external trappings of authority to cover up his diffidence. As the mother wrote of the seven-year-old boy, "he attributed much importance to externals," and she repeatedly blamed him in later years for being too easily influenced by outward splendor—an impression which is confirmed by numerous other observers.⁷⁰ Under these circumstances the prospect of ruling over a unified Germany, above all other German princes, seemed immensely attractive to him. He overcame earlier objections to the national movement all the more easily as it became clear, in the 1850's, that the moving spirits of the unification movement were moderate liberals rather than radical revolutionaries. But unlike most German liberals the prince was interested in unification not so much as an end in itself but as a stepping-stone for Prussia and the Hohenzollerns to greater power and prestige. When his father-in-law, Prince Albert, suggested that in order to unify Germany it might be necessary for Prussia to give up her sovereignty along with the small states, he balked.⁷¹ And he agreed for once with the hated Bismarck when the latter opposed Prussia's participation in a congress of German princes at Frankfort-on-the-Main, in August, 1863. Called to strengthen the loose German Confederation, the success of the Austrian-sponsored meeting would have greatly reduced Prussia's chances of leading a fully united Germany in the future.⁷²

On the other hand, Frederick William shared the conviction of the liberals that unification could not be forced upon the other states but could be achieved only by "moral conquests."⁷³ For this reason he objected to Bismarck's strong-arm policies, his disregard of parliament and public opinion

⁷⁰ Königin Augusta, diary entries in 1838, 1856, 1865, pp. 128, 239, 247; Dohme, in *Deutsche Rev.*, p. 126; Gustav Freytag, *Der Kronprinz und die deutsche Kaiserkrone* (Berlin, 1889), pp. 28-29; Philippson, p. 258. See also the revealing entries in his diary under Apr. 4 and Oct. 18, 1861, *Tagebücher*, pp. 88, 112-14.

⁷¹ *Tagebücher*, Aug. 9, 1861, p. 106.

⁷² *Ibid.*, Aug. 23 and 25, 1863, pp. 211, 212; Eyck, I, 519-20.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, Memorandum of March, 1860, pp. 485-86. For the viewpoint of the liberals, see *Preussische Jahrbücher*, X (1862), 415. Occasional statements which do not preclude the use of force were apparently motivated by emotional outbursts rather than reasoned arguments. *Tagebücher*, May 11, June 23, 1862, July 6, Aug. 16, 1863, pp. 138, 147-48, 206, 210; Bernhardt, III, 299-300.

which were bound to render the success of a moral campaign on Prussia's behalf increasingly doubtful.⁷⁴

The prince felt confirmed in his fears when he watched Bismarck handle the dispute over the two duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. In November, 1863, King Christian IX of Denmark proceeded to incorporate into Denmark the duchy of Schleswig, which along with Holstein had been joined to his kingdom in personal union by the Congress of Vienna. German public opinion, considering this act a violation of previous treaties and pledges, supported the somewhat questionable hereditary claims of Prince Frederick of Augustenburg to the two duchies. Demands were voiced for the "liberation" of the duchies and their subsequent reception, under the sovereignty of the prince of Augustenburg, into the German Confederation.

Frederick William immediately lent his support to the national cause and Augustenburg's claims.⁷⁵ Bismarck, on the other hand, was unwilling to see another, possibly anti-Prussian, state established in Prussia's backyard.⁷⁶ He tried therefore to delay the settlement of the controversy, hoping to manipulate developments in such a way as to be able, eventually, to incorporate the two duchies into Prussia. To gain time, he even seemed to support the claims of Christian IX for a while. The crown prince, unable to see through these complex maneuvers, condemned them as "un-German"; in his eyes Bismarck's attitude betrayed an antinational bias which, he feared, would further endanger Prussia's position in a united Germany. Bismarck's explanations did not remove these fears. Frederick William was convinced of the need for the "moral conquest" of Germany and rejected the chancellor's plans as ruinous to Prussia's "German" policy.⁷⁷

Prussia cannot think of increasing her territory in this crisis [he wrote his father]. If she did, she would antagonize all of Europe and above all her natural ally Germany. . . . Under these circumstances the only correct objective seems to me for Prussia to accomplish for Germany this task which was undertaken in the interest of Germany, in other words, to establish the independence of the duchies under the Augustenburgs. . . . If Prussia acts in accordance with the feelings of the nation, she will be able to assume the leadership in Germany.⁷⁸

He did not change his views after the victorious conclusion of the campaign against Denmark. While such trusted advisers as Roggenbach and Duncker supported Bismarck in his efforts to maneuver Austria into a war over the two duchies, realizing that the multinational Habsburg Empire

⁷⁴ *Tagebücher*, Aug. 24, Sept. 1, 1863, p. 212.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, Nov. 17, 29, Dec. 2, 1863, Jan. 3, 1864, pp. 222-23, 225-26, 231, 238.

⁷⁶ Eyck, I, 557.

⁷⁷ *Tagebücher*, Dec. 28, 1863, pp. 229-30.

⁷⁸ Memorandum, Jan. 3, 1864, *ibid.*, pp. 522-24.

would always remain an obstacle in the path of German unification,⁷⁹ Frederick William continued to oppose Bismarck's policies.⁸⁰ Partly, to be sure, his opposition must be attributed to a strong personal dislike of the minister president, who hardly bothered to conceal his contempt for the prince.⁸¹ But it was also dictated by the conviction, consistently encouraged by Victoria, that the original liberal strategy was the only correct one.⁸² As before, however, Frederick William preferred to evade rather than challenge Bismarck.⁸³

Even the fact that increasing numbers of liberals called for a war against Austria in 1865 and 1866 did not lead to a change of attitude on his part. "The crown prince is opposed to the war," the grand duke of Baden noted in April, 1866, "and to the lawless and illegal domestic conditions of the country on which the government bases its foreign policies. . . . His letter seems to me almost too soft, it betrays a great deal of depression and helplessness."⁸⁴ With even some of Bismarck's most bitter opponents going over to his side, he felt weak and isolated. He was so even more than he realized. While he tried to persuade himself that "no sane person in this country wants this war,"⁸⁵ Baumgarten wrote to his colleague Sybel that "if the liberals seize this opportunity to throw the weight of the entire nation to Prussia's side, Prussia must accept the nation as a reality. If Bismarck wins with the clear support of the popular forces, a liberal Prussia will be the real victor." This was no time, he added, to lay down conditions. "*Prussia least of all can insult her nobility and her officer corps with a policy of progress* [italics mine] at a moment in which both are to enter a war which actually ignores the basis of their own policy." But there could never be a Germany without a war against Austria. A liberal ministry, however, would hardly be able to obtain support for such a war from the dynasty, nobility, and military party. And there was another problem to be considered. "You must not forget in all these questions what is going to happen when the crown prince becomes king. If Prussia has not established her position in Germany by then, woe to us!"⁸⁶

⁷⁹ Haym, pp. 376-77; Ernst Schröder, "Karl von Normann," *Pommersche Lebensbilder* (Stettin, 1939), III, 330-31.

⁸⁰ *Tagebücher*, Dec. 26, 1864, Jan. 17, 1865, pp. 381, 383; Parisius, II, 2, 43; Rudolf Haym to Wilhelm Schrader, July 1, 1865, Hans Rosenberg, ed., *Ausgewählter Briefwechsel Rudolf Hayms* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1930), p. 237.

⁸¹ *Tagebücher*, Jan. 8, 1863, Feb. 16, 1866, pp. 182-83, 411.

⁸² *Ibid.*, Jan. 8, 1863, Feb. 27, Mar. 26, 1864, pp. 182-83, 273, 306; Dohme, in *Deutsche Rev.*, pp. 128-29; Victoria to Queen Victoria, Apr. 4, 1866, Ponsonby, pp. 58-59.

⁸³ Albrecht von Stosch to von Holtzendorff, Dec. 3, 1864, *Denkwürdigkeiten des Generals und Admirals Albrecht von Stosch* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1904), p. 58.

⁸⁴ To Gelzer, Apr. 2, 1866, Oncken, I, 498; also Sybel to Baumgarten, June 2, 1866, Heyderhoff, I, 300.

⁸⁵ *Tagebücher*, May 10, 1866, p. 422.

⁸⁶ May 11, 1866, Heyderhoff, I, 283; also Haym to Schrader, May 16, 1866, *ibid.*, pp. 285-86; Sybel to Baumgarten, June 2, 1866, *ibid.*, p. 300.

When war appeared imminent, however, Frederick William reconciled himself to the inevitable. Though undesirable, it did seem to bring within reach German unity under Prussia's leadership. Carried away by his newly found enthusiasm, the prince even tried to outbid the minister president. "Now we must play the thirteenth trump," he observed to his chief of staff, "and make ourselves emperor of Germany."⁸⁷

Bismarck, of course, was not prepared to go so far, and the prince was forced to accept the more limited objectives of the chancellor. These, however, he supported with unusual energy, even against the king, strengthened by the knowledge that for once he had the mighty minister president on his side. While king and general staff demanded the incorporation of parts of Bohemia into Prussia after the defeat of Austria, he agreed with Bismarck that such a step would turn Austria into a permanent enemy and might induce France to intervene and involve Central Europe in a general war. In that case German unification would have to wait a long time. Frederick William likewise supported the idea of an indemnity bill to be submitted to the *Landtag* by which Bismarck wanted to obtain, retroactively, sanction for all expenditures made without parliamentary appropriations since 1862.⁸⁸

But the prince joined forces with Bismarck not without misgivings. Repeatedly he observed in his diary that a different strategy would have been at least as successful as Bismarck's.⁸⁹ Victoria, who had never faltered in her opposition to the methods of the minister president, confirmed his doubts.⁹⁰ So did some of his associates. The latter, moreover, were seriously concerned about the possibility that the diffident and irresolute prince would come too fully under Bismarck's influence.⁹¹

This danger was a very real one. Deeply impressed by Bismarck's achievements, many a liberal leader had made his peace with him. "How beautifully does Bismarck fulfill our hopes," wrote Baumgarten at that time. "To be sure, liberalism has lost out. . . . The nation is going to turn away from it. But this is not important now. First of all a great state, everything else can wait."⁹² And a few months later he wrote in the *Preussische Jahrbücher*: "We have had the unprecedented experience that our victory [*i.e.*, of the liberal opposition] would have been disastrous, while our defeat has been

⁸⁷ *Journals of Field-Marshal Count von Blumenthal for 1866 and 1870-71* (London, 1903), p. 22.

⁸⁸ *Tagebücher*, July 8, 24, 1866, pp. 457-58, 471-72; Ernest of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, IV, 299-301; Stosch to Normann, July 17, 1866, Stosch, p. 103.

⁸⁹ July 8, 27, 1866, pp. 457-58, 475-76; Parisius, II, 2, 129.

⁹⁰ Victoria to Queen Victoria, Apr. 4, July 27, 1866, Ponsonby, pp. 58-59, 66; Stosch to his wife, July 31, 1866, Stosch, p. 107; Freytag to Solomon Hirzel, Sept. 15, 1866, Kämpf, p. 22.

⁹¹ Normann to Stosch, June 15, 1870, Kämpf, p. 49; Schröder, pp. 332-33.

⁹² To Sybel, June 23, 1866, Heyderhoff, I, 315.

immensely beneficial." He called upon the liberals to come to terms with the government. If anyone believed that the liberal idea might thereby suffer, he, Baumgarten, could only feel sorry for him. "It is about time that he stop depriving himself of all real power by illusions about the extent of his strength."⁹³ "The time for ideals is past," the liberal leader Johannes Miquel agreed. "Less than ever before, political leaders should ask what is desirable rather than what can be done."⁹⁴

When some of Bismarck's stoutest enemies were willing to give up so much of what they had once fought for, could a weaker man like Frederick William maintain an independent stand? Actually the rapprochement between him and Bismarck was only short-lived. Soon new doubts arose in the mind of the prince as to the wisdom of the chancellor's policy. Had Bismarck not gone too far in forcing Prussia's hegemony upon the newly created Confederation of the North German States? Prodded by Victoria, who had opposed the North German Constitution from the beginning,⁹⁵ he began to wonder whether Prussia would not now have to make greater concessions to the southern states in order to persuade them to join the new Confederation.⁹⁶ Serious mistakes were also committed in the treatment of the former kingdom of Hanover, which had been annexed by Prussia after the war against Austria, thus further weakening confidence in Prussia's leadership.⁹⁷ Yet Frederick William was not willing to see his chances of becoming emperor jeopardized. Once more, therefore, he withdrew from the political stage.⁹⁸

The Franco-Prussian War a year later forced him again to the foreground of political developments. Many liberals saw in the conflict the long awaited opportunity for completing the unification of Germany. As Eduard Lasker, one of the leaders of the National Liberal party, wrote Bismarck, his party considered the unity of the Reich one of the foremost objectives of the war and would at once launch a propaganda campaign in South Germany to further this goal.⁹⁹ Sharing these hopes, Lasker's colleague, Ludwig Bam-

⁹³ "Der deutsche Liberalismus," *Preussische Jahrbücher*, XVIII (1866), 625, 627; see also Eyck, II, 244-45, 298-304.

⁹⁴ Hermann Oncken, ed., *Rudolf von Bennigsen: Ein deutscher liberaler Politiker* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1910), II, 11; also Bennigsen to his wife, Apr. 10, 1867, *ibid.*, II, 61.

⁹⁵ Parisius, II, 2, 170.

⁹⁶ Martin Philippson, *Max von Forckenbeck* (Leipzig, 1898), p. 169; *Memoirs of Prince Chlodwig of Hohenlohe-Schillingsfuerst* (New York, 1906), I, 281; Baumgarten to Duncker, Nov. 12, 1867, Duncker, p. 441; Wilhelm Wehrenpfennig to Heinrich von Treitschke, Apr. 4, 1869, Heyderhoff, I, 441.

⁹⁷ Frederick William to Bismarck, Aug. 1 and 2, 1867, Oncken, *Bennigsen*, II, 93-94.

⁹⁸ Schweinitz, I, 245; Freytag to Mrs. von Stosch, Dec. 12, 1869, Hans F. Helmolt, ed., *Gustav Freytags Briefe an Albrecht von Stosch* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1913), p. 55; Frederick of Baden to Gelzer, Apr. 5, 1869, Oncken, *Grossherzog Friedrich*, II, 120-21.

⁹⁹ Aug. 17, 1870, "Aus Eduard Laskers Nachlass," *Deutsche Revue*, XVII (1892), 2, 47 ff.

berger, who was at Prussian headquarters with Bismarck, misinterpreted the chancellor's cautious moves as opposition to German unity. He urged the Hessian minister Jacob Finger to force Bismarck's hand by organizing pressure from below "so that the victory may benefit the nation."¹⁰⁰ And Gustav Freytag embarked upon far-flung plans to popularize the crown prince in southern Germany by a systematic publicity campaign.¹⁰¹

Frederick William shared the hopes of the liberals. He filled his diary with demands for and predictions of the unification of Germany as a result of the war.¹⁰² All previous objections to forceful solutions were forgotten. When Baron von Roggenbach suggested that Prussia return to the original strategy of "moral conquests" since South Germany was not yet ready to accept unification, the crown prince replied that "we cannot possibly content ourselves with merely paving the way for new efforts towards the German goal after the war."¹⁰³ He rejected similar objections of Gustav Freytag by pointing out that Prussia had sufficient power to obtain by force, if necessary, the agreement of any recalcitrant South German ruler.¹⁰⁴ He was convinced that at long last the coveted goal of placing the imperial crown on the head of the king of Prussia was within reach. Moreover, in his hopes and wishes he knew himself in full accord with the greater part of the nation. No petty prince, therefore, was going to deprive the Hohenzollerns of their historic opportunity.¹⁰⁵

Bismarck, on the other hand, took this opposition much more seriously. The chancellor was determined not to jeopardize his lifework by any precipitate action. Most likely he was also anxious, as his biographer Eyck has suggested, to bring about the unification with princely rather than popular help.¹⁰⁶ Conscious, however, of the deep-rooted prejudices of the Bavarian and Württembergian kings, he moved slowly and carefully. The crown prince objected impatiently to the cautious maneuvering of the chancellor.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 59. Finger later explained that when talking of the "benefit to the nation," Bamberger had been concerned primarily with German unity, while the problem of political rights had been of secondary importance to him, *ibid.* Once more German liberals placed unity above liberty. See also Lasker to Marquard Barth, Sept. 24, 1870, *ibid.*, p. 185.

¹⁰¹ To Normann, July 18, 1870, *Vossische Zeitung* (Berlin), Aug. 14, 1927. To appreciate the importance which Freytag attributed to this plan, it must be kept in mind that William I was in his seventies; Frederick William's accession to the throne seemed therefore imminent.

¹⁰² Kaiser Friedrich III, *Kriegstagebuch 1870-71* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1926), July 17, Aug. 7, Sept. 9, 1870, pp. 6, 44, 103; also Ernst Feder, ed., *Bismarck's grosses Spiel: Die geheimen Tagebücher Ludwig Bambergers* (Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1932), Aug. 20, 1870, p. 170.

¹⁰³ *Kriegstagebuch*, Aug. 7, 1870, p. 44.

¹⁰⁴ Freytag, p. 22.

¹⁰⁵ *Kriegstagebuch*, July 26, Oct. 13, Nov. 4, 1870, pp. 10, 164, 200; Freytag, pp. 27, 74-78; Dohme, in *Deutsche Rev.*, p. 118; Philippson, *Kaiser Friedrich*, p. 258; *Denkwürdigkeiten des General-Feldmarschalls Alfred Grafen von Waldersee* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1922-23), I, 116.

¹⁰⁶ Eyck, II, 545.

At times, when the opposition of southern Germany seemed insurmountable, he even expressed his readiness to sacrifice German unity to the glory of the imperial title and asked Bismarck to proceed without Bavaria and Württemberg.¹⁰⁷ And when on some other occasion it seemed to him that Bismarck was thinking of abandoning the idea of a German empire in favor of a Confederation, he furiously wished upon the chancellor "every democratic movement which turns against the stupid cabinets, because they'll be getting only what they deserve."¹⁰⁸ "The crown prince," Bismarck remarked, "is the most stupid and vain individual, and one day he'll die from emperor madness."¹⁰⁹ An element of vanity there doubtless was in the anxiety of the prince to see his fondest wish realized. But his insistence on the re-establishment of the imperial throne was also motivated by the desire that the final fulfillment of the nation's age-old wish for unity be properly solemnized. In the face of the indifference he encountered in the king's entourage toward this question, he considered himself the only one who understood the temper of the nation and concerned himself seriously with its future.¹¹⁰

Early in December, finally, King Louis of Bavaria declared himself ready to take his state into a united German Reich. Frederick William was overjoyed.¹¹¹ But soon new clouds appeared on the horizon. William I still seemed little impressed with the importance of the imperial dignity. For sentimental reasons the old king was extremely reluctant to assume the new title. As a result, the prince complained, no one but he tried to do justice to the solemnity of the forthcoming coronation and pay any attention to questions of ceremony, new titles, coats-of-arms, or national colors.¹¹² But worst of all, the proclamation of the empire was delayed for several weeks, since Bismarck wanted to wait for the formal consent of Bavaria. "I am actually sick because of this lack of determination which one encounters everywhere. What do we care for Bavaria with her unpredictable king?"¹¹³ At last, on January 18, 1871, the German *Kaiserreich* was solemnly proclaimed in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles.

Some of the entries in Frederick William's diary at that time give us an

¹⁰⁷ Bamberger, Nov. 19, 1870, Feder, p. 224; *Kriegstagebuch*, Dec. 9, 1870, p. 265; Dohme, in *Deutsche Rev.*, p. 118.

¹⁰⁸ *Kriegstagebuch*, Nov. 2, 1870, p. 197.

¹⁰⁹ Bamberger, Dec. 5, 1870, Feder, p. 244.

¹¹⁰ *Kriegstagebuch*, introd., p. xxvii, Sept. 30, Nov. 2, Dec. 9 and 19, 1870, pp. 146, 197, 265, 285. For a representative example of the general lack of interest in the creation of a new empire in high Prussian circles, see the diary of the prince's chief of staff, Count Blumenthal, *Journals*, Nov. 16, Dec. 5, 1870, Jan. 17 and 18, 1871, pp. 192, 216, 280, 281.

¹¹¹ *Kriegstagebuch*, Dec. 3, 1870, p. 253.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, Dec. 9, 19, 1870, Jan. 17, 1871, pp. 265, 284, 334.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, Dec. 31, 1870, p. 300.

interesting insight into his political thinking. The prince's plans for the internal organization of the empire reveal a curious mixture of medieval romanticism and the political philosophy of nineteenth century English liberalism. Some entries suggest that he saw in Bismarck's creation merely the revival of the Holy Roman Empire. Others discuss the inauguration of local self-government and the liberalization of the administration of the Lutheran Church. Plans for a house of lords are discussed along with demands for far-reaching social reforms. His thoughts on the subject betray the dilemma of a mind which places supreme importance on authority and prestige and yet would like to be considered progressive.¹¹⁴ Nevertheless his recurring pledges to inaugurate liberal reforms when his time comes, even if strewn with vague clichés, have the ring of sincerity. But they convey at the same time the impression of a lack of clear intentions, of momentary impulses suggested by outside influences rather than of thoroughly digested plans—a weakness of which the prince's advisers had often cause to complain.¹¹⁵

One of the entries, the so-called "*Silvester-Betrachtung*," written on New Year's Eve, 1870, has acquired historical fame. Frederick William gives vent in it to his concern about the fact that the French are rapidly gaining the world's sympathies while the Prussians are being looked upon as wanton victors. The prince attributes this unfortunate development not merely to incidents of the present war but to the more fundamental cause of Bismarck's "blood-and-iron" policy. "I maintain even today that Germany could have 'conquered morally,' without blood and iron, and become united, free, and powerful." But Bismarck's plotting harmed the good cause in 1864 and caused it further injury when "in 1866 he broke up Austria" (which was manifestly untrue). The entry concludes with the statement that "it will be our noble but immensely difficult task in the future to free the dear German Fatherland from the unfounded suspicions with which the world looks upon it today. We must show that our newly acquired power is not a danger but a boon to humanity."¹¹⁶

A praiseworthy goal—no doubt sincerely proposed! But those who knew the prince might well have asked themselves whether he would be the man to surmount the obstacles which blocked its realization.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Dec. 18, 1870, Feb. 23, Mar. 7, 1871, pp. 282-83, 394, 415.

¹¹⁵ Stosch to Freytag, Feb. 11, 1870, Stosch, p. 180; Geffcken to Stosch, June 27, 1870, *ibid.*, p. 185; Normann to Freytag, Jan. 1, 1886, Paul Wentzke, ed., *Deutscher Liberalismus im Zeitalter Bismarcks* (Bonn and Leipzig, 1926), II, 424; Waldersee, I, 239-40; Freytag, *Der Kronprinz*, pp. 74-75.

¹¹⁶ Dec. 31, 1870, pp. 302-303.

III

If Frederick William had hoped to be able to play a more active role in the new Reich, he was to be disappointed. Once more he was forced into the background, passing his days with the inspection of troops and the inauguration of museums. For the rest, he could dream of what he would do once he were emperor, but that day seemed as far off as ever.

As before, it is true, the crown prince kept in touch with leading liberals.¹¹⁷ But German liberalism had lost the *élan* with which it had fired the nation ten years earlier. The foremost task it had set itself—German unity—had been achieved by its opponent, Bismarck. After 1871, its onetime fervor seemed gone. Sybel expressed the general feeling when he wrote his friend Baumgarten that there was little to live for now that the wishes and efforts of twenty years had finally become reality.¹¹⁸ Actually only part of the liberal program had been realized; the victory of law and morality was still far from assured. Yet few liberals seemed to care. The majority, impressed by Bismarck's power and success, forsook the ideals for which they had once fought with such valor.

Frederick William had never found it easy to maintain his liberal associations. Court and army had always frowned on them, and, in the face of such powerful disapprobation, he had been strongly conscious of a feeling of helpless isolation. To be sure, he had on occasion defied the powers, especially since the liberal movement had seemed so strong that he felt he could not afford to ignore it. But now this was no longer the case. When the prince asked Berlin's mayor, Max von Forckenbeck, in 1879 whether it would be possible to create once more a strong liberal party, Forckenbeck's answer was evasive.¹¹⁹ It was no longer certain that a liberal regime would have nationwide support. As the years went by, moreover, many of the men who might have become members of a more progressive government passed away. The number of suitable candidates grew constantly smaller.¹²⁰ True liberalism, it seemed, no longer had any place in the new state.

Under these circumstances even a stronger character than Frederick William could have done little else but shift to a more conservative tack. From the National Liberal party, the largest of the liberal parties, he could not

¹¹⁷ Philippson, *Forckenbeck*, pp. 221, 304; Poschinger, III, 253.

¹¹⁸ Jan. 27, 1871, Heyderhoff, I, 494. Sybel's attitude is all the more significant as six years earlier he had still been seriously perturbed by Bismarck's methods. Letter to Droysen, June 19, 1864, *ibid.*, I, 228.

¹¹⁹ Bamberger, Dec. 30, 1879, Feder, pp. 331-32; also Oncken, *Bennigsen*, II, 425.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 437; Dohme, in *Deutsche Rev.*, pp. 7, 120; Schweinitz, II, 134-35; Haym to Treitschke, Mar. 28, 1874, Haym, p. 288.

expect significant support against Bismarck.¹²¹ Those few liberals who were not ready to make their peace with the chancellor represented but a small minority of the nation. Since there seemed to be no longer anyone who could take Bismarck's place, the crown prince had to admit to himself that he would not be able, as emperor, to dispense with his services. He was confirmed in this view by some of his most trusted advisers, among them Grand Duke Frederick of Baden and Karl von Normann, neither one an admirer of the old chancellor.¹²² For the sake of the power of emperor and empire he would have to overcome his dislike of Bismarck.¹²³

As a result, the prince withdrew gradually from his liberal associations. Nor did he protest when at Bismarck's suggestion aides and advisers of many years were replaced by men of more conservative leanings.¹²⁴ "You want to know something about the political views of the crown prince," wrote the Progressive deputy Karl Schrader to a party colleague in August, 1884. "I am afraid I can tell you less about them than I used to, for I have seen neither him nor the crown princess in a long time. They have become very careful in their contacts with liberal people; it seems that word has been passed around to avoid everything that might annoy Bismarck." Bismarck's overwhelming power, Schrader added, was becoming ever more evident, both domestically and internationally. Yet Schrader believed that the change of attitude was not too fundamental, and he attributed it to expediency rather than conviction.¹²⁵

Not all liberals, however, were ready to succumb to Bismarck's successes. Some at least were determined to carry on the fight for the full realization of the liberal program. While resigned to the fact that such a program could not be carried out in William I's lifetime, they set their hopes on the son. Now Frederick William's withdrawal from liberal contacts seemed to dim these hopes too. It was obvious that the future emperor could not be expected to support a liberal program unless he was assured of nation-wide support. To provide such support, 103 members of the Reichstag joined forces

¹²¹ Bamberger, *loc. cit.*; Waldersee, I, 239-40.

¹²² Diary, Nov. 25, Dec. 15, 1870, Oncken, *Grossherzog Friedrich*, II, 202, 252; Normann to Freytag, July 6, 1873, Wentzke, II, 82-83; Delbrück, p. 73.

¹²³ Bismarck too seems to have expected since 1870 to be retained as chancellor by Frederick William; Moritz Busch, *Bismarck: Some Secret Pages of His History* (New York, 1898), I, 103-104; 349; II, 217, 332-33, 386-87; Bismarck to Emil von Albedyll, July 16, 1885, Bismarck, *Die Gesammelten Werke*, XIV, 2, 963-64; *Bismarck-Erinnerungen des Staatsministers Freiherrn Lucius von Ballhausen* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1921), pp. 324, 328, 396. Occasional statements to the contrary (Ballhausen, pp. 359-60; Busch, II, 325; Ziekursch, II, 415) were apparently the expression of temporary irritation rather than of a considered decision.

¹²⁴ Waldersee, I, 286-87; Schweinitz, II, 312; Freytag, *Der Kronprinz*, pp. 72-73.

¹²⁵ To Franz von Stauffenberg, Aug. 21, 1884, Wentzke, II, 417-18.

in a new party, the *Deutsch-freisinnige Partei* (Progressive party) in March, 1884.¹²⁶

The crown prince reportedly welcomed it warmly when it made its appearance.¹²⁷ If he did, the gesture was meaningless. For this was not the party with which he would have been willing to work as emperor. Frederick William's liberalism never extended to the acceptance of a strong parliament. "He was somewhat more progressive and tolerant than the groups which customarily surround a prince and king," in the words of the historian Hans Delbrück, who as the tutor of the prince's children got to know him well at that time, "but he remained basically the Prussian officer."¹²⁸ Although Frederick William never clarified his ideas about the relationship between monarch and parliament, it can at least be determined from various memorandums he submitted to William I in the course of time that he never favored a parliamentary government.¹²⁹ Even if he did on occasion speak of the need for a responsible government,¹³⁰ it is doubtful, in view of his penchant for ill-defined clichés, that he associated any concrete meaning with his words. His librarian Dohme, with whom he discussed the parliamentary question repeatedly, assumed that he was ready to make a few ceremonial concessions to the Reichstag. Dohme also believed that within certain limitations he would have adjusted his policies, by way of informal co-operation with the parliament, to the prevailing trends in the country. But convinced of the need for a strong monarchy, he would never have yielded, according to Dohme, the right of ultimate decision.¹³¹ The program of the Progressives, however, demanded the creation of a ministry responsible to the Reichstag, yearly control of revenues and appropriations, and control of the size of the army by the Reichstag. None of these points was compatible with Frederick William's ideas of imperial authority and military power. "We must never have a parliamentary army," was an unshakable tenet with him.¹³² However, he was saved the embarrassment of a direct rejection. At the Reichstag elections in the fall of that year the Progressives suffered a decisive defeat, losing over one third of their seats. Clearly the nation was unwilling to abandon Bismarck.

¹²⁶ *Politisches Handbuch der Nationalliberalen Partei* (Berlin, 1907), pp. 358-59; Oncken, *Bennigsen*, II, 452, 512-13; *Die Grenzboten*, No. 13, 1884, p. 668; Felix Rachfahl, "Eugen Richter und der Linksliberalismus im Neuen Reiche," *Zeitschrift für Politik*, V (1911-12), 324, 326, 332; Oscar Stillich, *Die politischen Parteien in Deutschland* (Leipzig, 1911), II, 304.

¹²⁷ Rachfahl, *op. cit.*, p. 332; *Politisches Handbuch*, p. 358; Philippson, *Forckenbeck*, p. 353.

¹²⁸ Delbrück, pp. 75-76. ¹²⁹ Meisner, pp. 48-50.

¹³⁰ *Kriegstagebuch*, Oct. 18, 1870, pp. 170-71; Oct. 27, 1870, p. 186.

¹³¹ Dohme, in *Deutsche Rev.*, pp. 128-29.

¹³² Delbrück, p. 76; Schrader to Stauffenberg, *loc. cit.*; Philippson, *Kaiser Friedrich*, p. 305; Ziekursch, II, 418.

Nor were the Progressives able to build up their support during the following years. Three years later, in 1887, they suffered an even more severe defeat, losing a full half of their remaining mandates. The party which at the time of its organization had been represented by 103 deputies in the Reichstag was now reduced to thirty-two representatives, less than one third of its original number. "We Progressives have . . . now no other interest but to work for the future," the leading Progressive weekly, *Die Nation*, tried to console its readers. "At present we can contribute little. But this may change from one day to another." The change, the editorial implied, could be expected as soon as Frederick William became emperor.¹³³ The party leadership, however, did not share this confidence. "The new representation is the true expression of the German public. Junkers and Catholic Church which know exactly what they want, and a bourgeoisie of childlike innocence, politically immature, and in need of neither law nor liberty," wrote Ludwig Bamberger. "Junkers and Catholic Church will get together and deal with the bourgeoisie as it deserves. . . . *Il faut que les destins s'accomplissent*. The crown prince need no longer feel any embarrassment. He is going to do what Bismarck wants."¹³⁴ And some weeks later he noted in his diary: "[The spirit of National Liberalism], pompous servility, is the expression of the German middle classes, over which . . . the traditional rulers, Junkers and clerics, are once more asserting their authority. German parliamentarism was an episode."¹³⁵ The leaders of the party which had been founded to support Frederick William's liberal policies after his accession knew that under the circumstances they could no longer expect much help from him.

Their pessimism was shared by the prince's onetime advisers of a more liberal hue. They became increasingly concerned about his growing physical and mental deterioration. His vitality, they complained, had spent itself in the never-ending waiting for the moment when he would be able to assume the responsibilities of government himself. Besides, what could he do when this day finally did come? "My father has anticipated everything," he once complained, "he does not leave me anything to do."¹³⁶ A sense of deep futility overshadowed Frederick William's later years; while he was waiting, Bismarck had unified Germany and thus accomplished what he had dreamed of as his foremost task in life. Gradually he lost his resilience and what little intellectual independence he had.¹³⁷ To be sure, the crown princess was as

¹³³ Theodor Barth, "Der neue Reichstag," *Die Nation*, Feb. 26, 1887, p. 323.

¹³⁴ To Franz von Stauffenberg, Feb. 25, 1887, Wentzke, II, 429; also Schrader to same, Apr. 9, 1887, *ibid.*, II, 434.

¹³⁵ June 8, 1887, Feder, p. 339.

¹³⁶ Dohme, in *Deutsche Rev.*, p. 125.

¹³⁷ Normann to Freytag, Jan. 20, 1882, Wentzke, II, 391; Freytag to Stosch, Nov. 8, 1883, Sept. 2, 1885, May 13, 1886, Helmolt, pp. 145, 165, 176.

undaunted as ever, but her influence on her husband was now limited by the latter's dependence on Bismarck.¹³⁸ To find some outlet, the prince occupied himself increasingly with trivial questions of etiquette and ceremony.¹³⁹ One problem which preoccupied him in particular was that of the relationship between the emperor and the other German rulers. To his mind, Bismarck had conceded the latter far too much power in 1871, and he busied himself with plans to reduce them from the status of peers to that of subordinates. As he told confidants, he was determined to get rid of all the "kings by the grace of Napoleon," Bavaria, Württemberg, and Saxony, once he was emperor; they would have to be satisfied with the title of "grand duke" or "elector."¹⁴⁰ While as emperor he would no doubt have abandoned these plans in the face of reality, even his most loyal supporters thought these preoccupations symptomatic. Nor did occasional demonstrative gestures in the direction of the liberals allay their fears. They were too planless and often tactless and thus accomplished very little.¹⁴¹ This feeling was summed up tragically in a letter of the prince's onetime secretary Normann to Gustav Freytag on New Year's Day, 1886: "One would not want to see put off again and again the hour of Frederick William's accession which must come one day, if he were sure that the decisive moment would be used at the decisive place with clear intentions and confident strength. That we cannot be sure of this —this is our misfortune."¹⁴²

IV

When Frederick William finally did ascend the throne in March, 1888 (as Frederick III), he was fatally ill. His death was a matter of months, if not weeks. For almost a year he had been suffering from what was, or ultimately developed into, cancer of the larynx. To save him from suffocation, an incision had to be made in his larynx in February, 1888. As a result of the tracheotomy, the prince had lost his voice. Thus, on the verge of death, unable to speak, separated from his old liberal advisers, he finally became emperor.

If Frederick had regarded Bismarck as indispensable in his healthy days, he needed him now even more. His health made a change of policy un-

¹³⁸ Bamberger, Mar. 2, 1884, Feder, pp. 276-79; Victoria to Henriette Schrader, Nov. 2 and Dec. 15, 1887, *ibid.*, pp. 502-504.

¹³⁹ Freytag to Stosch, Nov. 13, 1886, Helmoltz, p. 176; Dohme, in *Deutsche Rev.*, pp. 128-29; Waldersee, I, 322.

¹⁴⁰ Philipp zu Eulenburg-Hertefeld, *Aus fünfzig Jahren* (n.p., 1923), pp. 143, 178; Waldersee, I, 211; Prince William to Bismarck, Nov. 29, 1887, Bismarck, *Die Gesammelten Werke*, XV, 464-65; also Frederick William to Bismarck, Aug. 17, 1881, *ibid.*, XV, 569.

¹⁴¹ Busch, II, 331-32; Bamberger, Mar. 2, 1884, Feder, pp. 276-81; Ellen von Siemens-Helmholtz, ed., *Anna von Helmholtz: Ein Lebensbild in Briefen* (Berlin, 1929), I, 262.

¹⁴² Wentzke, II, 424.

thinkable. If there was any doubt in Bismarck's mind, the first official proclamations of the new emperor reassured him. These statements, prepared as early as 1884, contained little to which the chancellor could object. To be sure, there was a passage which demanded that "the constitutional and legal systems of the empire and of Prussia must above all be strengthened by the respect of, and strike root in the morals of, the nation"¹⁴³—possibly an allusion to the fact that Frederick would not tolerate a violation of the constitution as Bismarck had perpetrated it in Prussia in the 1860's. But Bismarck felt certain that Frederick himself would be the first to disregard constitutional obstacles if he believed his position and prestige at stake: "Then he will insist stubbornly on the rights of the crown, then he won't yield an iota, then it will be difficult enough to keep him from resorting to extreme measures to have things his way."¹⁴⁴ The striking emphasis which the decree put upon the rights of the emperor, for which it demanded respect from both state governments and Reichstag, confirmed this impression. As the chancellor told his confidant Lucius von Ballhausen, he found the proclamations "so beautiful and appropriate" that he ordered their unrevised publication. "Bismarck," Ballhausen noted in his diary, "spoke quite *con amore*, like a man who had been freed from great anxiety."¹⁴⁵

Bismarck's joy was matched by the deep disappointment of the Progressives. Reviewing the imperial proclamations, *Die Nation* noted the absence of all pledges promising the Reichstag greater power. In an obvious effort to ease his readers' minds, the editor explained that this was not the fault of the emperor. After the defeat of the Progressives at the polls, his hands had been tied. "Certain goods cannot be granted from above; political freedom is one of them—we can acquire it only by hard work." As for the emperor's emphasis on his rights, the editorial continued, they did not presuppose a powerless Reichstag; on the contrary, a Reichstag which enjoyed prestige could support the emperor much more effectively. Yet on the whole the article was reserved. "No one can tell what will be achieved." Frederick had conquered his subjects' hearts, "but he who loves is easily convinced. We liberals welcome the imperial program as a promise that we may serve the nation in accordance with our conscience and conviction under the reign of Frederick III."¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ *Schulthess' Europäischer Geschichtskalender*, 1888, p. 60.

¹⁴⁴ Poschinger, III, 321; Bismarck, *Ges. Werke*, IX, 248, 333; Hohenlohe, II, 411.

¹⁴⁵ Mar. 13, 1888, p. 433. Ballhausen's remark suggests that Bismarck had not been completely sure of Frederick's attitude.

¹⁴⁶ "Das Regierungsprogramm des Kaiser Friedrich," *Die Nation*, Mar. 17, 1888, p. 346. The Progressive *Berliner Volkszeitung* expressed the same disappointment, *Die Grenzboten*, July, 1888, No. 29, p. 100.

Subsequent developments confirmed these misgivings. It was of course out of the question for Frederick to initiate any changes. Nor was it possible for him to renew his contacts with National Liberals or Progressives. What would have been difficult enough had he been in the prime of health was not feasible for a dying man. By keeping the threat of his resignation and even a regency over the emperor's head, Bismarck was easily able to keep the latter shut off from all outside influences to which the chancellor objected.¹⁴⁷ Shortly before his death, it is true, the empress, on her own, managed to establish secret contacts with Ludwig Bamberger, who was able to advise her on some minor points. Bamberger possibly helped to engineer the dismissal of the unsavory Prussian minister of the interior, Robert von Puttkamer.¹⁴⁸ On the whole, however, Bamberger's hastily scribbled notes which reached Victoria through an intermediary could do little to offset the influence of the chancellor, who controlled the bureaucracy and a great part of the press and had direct access to Frederick at almost any time.

On the other hand, Victoria herself was able to exercise a stronger influence on the emperor than she would have, had he been well. As it was, she stood between him and the outside world, and while she could not prevent Bismarck and certain other high officials from seeing him, she could, because of his failing strength, keep many another unwelcome visitor away from him. Under these circumstances it was probably due to her insistence that the emperor made certain gestures towards the liberals from which he might otherwise have been dissuaded by opponents of the empress. He did, for example, insist on some official recognition of certain of his onetime liberal advisers. Decorations were awarded such prominent liberals as Max von Forckenbeck, Berlin's lord mayor, and Rudolf Virchow, the famous surgeon. Yet at Bismarck's request these distinctions were arranged in such a way as to deprive them of all political significance.¹⁴⁹ A few days before his death the emperor also obtained the resignation of Puttkamer, a protégé of Bismarck, who had repeatedly used his position to influence elections in favor of Conservative candidates. It is, however, not clear whether Bismarck made any serious effort to save him. In fact, there are indications that the chancellor wanted to get rid of Puttkamer for reasons of his own, but, in the

¹⁴⁷ Victoria to Queen Victoria, June 8, 1888, Ponsonby, pp. 312-14; Bamberger, May 14 and 16, 1888, Feder, pp. 356-68.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 374-91.

¹⁴⁹ Ballhausen, p. 453; Ziekursch, II, 420. The liberals themselves did not attach much importance to these awards. Bamberger, perhaps not quite fairly, thought them foolish gestures which were taken much too seriously by the emperor. Bamberger to Stauffenberg, May 3 and 13, 1888, Wentzke, II, 440, 441.

words of one observer, "preferred to refer the odium of his dismissal to the emperor."¹⁵⁰

V

If his closest associates were far from certain that Frederick III would have been a truly liberal monarch, how was it possible that he could survive in the memory of millions of Germans as the champion of a progressive liberalism, the "*Schwanenritter*" of the liberal bourgeoisie, as Anna von Helmholtz, the wife of the famous physicist, once called him?¹⁵¹

The answer is twofold. Relatively few people knew Frederick intimately. His personality could not be discussed publicly in any but favorable terms. Even those few who might have had an interest in giving a realistic account of him could not communicate their knowledge to a wider audience. Of his personal limitations, his difficulties, his isolation at court, his actual views on monarchy and parliament, nothing therefore was known to the outside world. All the public did know of his political ideas was that he had openly opposed Bismarck and William I at the height of Prussia's constitutional conflict and that he had long been in touch with many a liberal leader. It seemed enough to stamp him a liberal. From 1884 on, moreover, the Progressive party, the so-called party of the crown prince, worked hard to strengthen this impression. It was also confirmed shortly after his death by the publication of judiciously selected passages from his war diary of 1870-71, from which he emerged as the chief advocate of German unification at the Prussian court and, at least on superficial perusal, as a man with progressive ideas.¹⁵²

Perhaps even more important, however, was the fact that after Frederick's death a systematic attempt was undertaken to make his person the rallying point of the liberal movement. In August, 1888, the Progressive deputy Karl Schrader wrote his colleague Stauffenberg that they could render the nation a great service if they kept Frederick alive in the memory of the people, not only as a military leader and gallant sufferer but also as a monarch who was truly a people's ruler, deeply concerned with the welfare of the nation. "A better future, evolving from the people, must be based on him, and we must make it possible by keeping him alive in the mind of the nation."¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰ Hohenlohe, II, 402; Victoria to Queen Victoria, Apr. 5, 1889, Feder, p. 437; same to same, July 19, 1889, Ponsonby, p. 383; Kaiser Wilhelm II, *Ereignisse und Gestalten aus den Jahren 1878-1918* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1922), p. 156.

¹⁵¹ Siemens-Helmholtz, I, 309.

¹⁵² "Aus Kaiser Friedrich's Tagebuch 1870-71," *Deutsche Rundschau*, LVII (1888), pp. 5-32. The fact that Bismarck, for reasons of his own, confiscated this publication and tried to prosecute the man who made the diary available for publication served only to encourage this view.

¹⁵³ Aug. 11, 1888, Wentzke, II, 446; also Victoria to Queen Victoria, Aug. 13, 1888, Ponsonby, p. 329; Waldersee, II, 12-13.

The suggestion was well received. Men who only a few months earlier had wondered what to expect from Frederick's reign no longer admitted any doubt. Frederick's weaknesses, his diffidence and vanity, and, above all, his dependence on Bismarck were forgotten. Theodor Barth, the editor of *Die Nation*, who had given voice to the deep disappointment of the Progressives over the noncommittal character of Frederick's first proclamations, now honored him in word and print as a steadfast liberal.¹⁵⁴ Similarly Karl Schrader praised Frederick's strength of character, his energy and persistence.¹⁵⁵

These words fell on fertile ground. A whole generation had felt itself by-passed when Frederick died. William II, deeply suspicious of anything faintly liberal, avoided all contact even with the rather conservative National Liberals. His blunders and indiscretions, such as his father would never have committed, let the latter appear in an all the more favorable light. As the demand for a parliamentary regime grew in Germany after the turn of the century, it found its historical symbol in the person of Frederick III, now only dimly remembered from the receding past. In the words of a German historian, an Emperor Frederick legend developed.

The old hopes of political and religious liberalism, the new romanticism of *Kaiser und Reich*, the reconciliation of the monarchical principle with popular representation and freedom, and last but not least the western European antithesis of brain and brawn—all this the generation of those years which had been by-passed in the German constitutional development translated into the figure of Emperor Frederick.¹⁵⁶

When Frederick succeeded his father in March, 1888, Gustav Freytag wrote to his friend Normann that it would have been better for the crown prince, had he not survived his father; being the man he was, he was bound to disappoint many hopes and cause disillusionment and resentment.¹⁵⁷ For Frederick's posthumous fame it may indeed have been fortunate that his reign was as short-lived as it was.

¹⁵⁴ See in particular his address of Oct. 18, 1888, *Die Nation*, Oct. 20, 1888, pp. 31 ff.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Sept. 29, 1888, pp. 744-45; Nov. 2, 1889, pp. 62-64.

¹⁵⁶ Gisbert Beyerhaus, "Bismarck und Kaiser Friedrichs Tagebuch," *Historische Aufsätze: Aloys Schultze zum 70. Geburtstag* (Düsseldorf, 1927), p. 319.

¹⁵⁷ Mar. 11, 1888, Wentzke, II, 437-38.

The Historian of the Spanish Empire

GARRETT MATTINGLY*

WHEN Roger Bigelow Merriman died on September 7, 1945, glowing things were said of his work as a teacher and a house master, and of the way he had built himself into the affectionate memories of generations of Harvard undergraduates. Respectful things were said of his scholarship, and even of his books. But if any professional journal in the English-speaking world has so far remarked that with his passing the historical profession lost one of its creative giants, the words have found no wings. Yet it would be hard to name many historical works written in our time which equal *The Rise of the Spanish Empire* in the combination of breadth, boldness, and symmetry of plan with the most patient, detailed, critical scholarship in execution. Among specialists the impressiveness of Merriman's work is recognized. For a wider public, however, even in the historical profession, a correct estimate of it has been somewhat obscured—in part, certainly, by its disregard of current fashions in historiography. Fashions change, in ideological as in literary styles; craftsmanship remains. Since, among craftsmen, at least, any conflict with fashion should be resolved soon in favor of what has permanent significance, it may not be too early now to reassess the place of R. B. Merriman as a historian.¹

When Roger Merriman enrolled as a freshman at Harvard in 1892 he found the idea of scientific, objective historiography, the ideological style which he was to follow all his life, well in the ascendant. Henry Adams had transplanted it from Germany to Cambridge in 1871, and though Adams' last Harvard class had been in 1877, the influence of his seminars had taken firm root, and in 1892 the final volumes of his *History of the United States* were fresh on the library shelves. Merriman read them as an undergraduate and was impressed. He felt the Adams influence in MacVane's classes and in Channing's, and in that of another of his teachers, Albert Bushnell Hart, who, although just too late to have studied with Adams, had honored the tradition by going from Harvard to Freiburg and Baden. But perhaps what counted most in forming Merriman's standards was the influence of quite a young man, Archibald Cary Coolidge, '86, Ph.D., Freiburg, '92, who brought his

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¹ The author is indebted to Mrs. Merriman for the opportunity to make use of her husband's papers and for generous and helpful advice, and to Mr. G. W. Robinson for his exact and copious notes on Merriman's Harvard career.

passion for disinterested research, his disciplined scholarship, and his high conception of his chosen profession to the teaching of History I when Merriman was a sophomore. Conversations with Coolidge helped Merriman decide on his vocation, which dictated, after the M.A. at Harvard, further study in Europe. The Adams tradition suggested Germany; Coolidge seconded the choice, and what forward-looking historian in 1897 would have failed to approve? Later Merriman did go to Germany, and acquired there, besides a reluctant familiarity with the language, enough confirmation of his Harvard training to suggest to his contemporaries a flavor of Marburg and Berlin. But in 1897 he chose, oddly enough, not Berlin but Oxford.

Probably he was lucky. German training in the "scientific" school tended to make preparatory research interminable. Since one dared not write until one had mastered all the sources, even the ablest workers narrowed their fields, fewer and fewer got beyond the preliminary monograph or the first volume of the definitive study, and more and more showed their respect for the exacting standards of the prevailing fashion by never writing anything at all. It was a healthy corrective of such exaggerated scruples to walk into York Powell's study and be told to write the life of a major English statesman as casually as if the assignment were a between-terms essay. The scientific school reigned in England in 1897, as it did everywhere. English historians had long accepted the necessities of vigilant doubt, of scrupulous criticism, of painstaking professional documentation. But they had not entirely forgotten the value of the armchair tradition and of the gentleman amateur. They could still take scholarship as lightly as they took war or politics or diplomacy, since they took even sport without undue intensity. Traditionally they were inclined to patronize professionalism rather than to defer to it, and their historians, like their athletes, believed that the best training for the game was to play it.

By Merriman's own account, Professor Powell's abrupt assignment was important for him in more ways than just in compelling him to tackle a full-sized job. When he was told to write a life of Thomas Cromwell, and "Come back, next term, and tell me how you're getting on," he was too awed by ivied quadrangles, superior scouts, and Regius professors to do more than gulp "Yes, sir," without question or argument. It was only, as he used to tell it, on the safety of the stairway that he began to say to himself "Thomas Cromwell . . . *Thomas* Cromwell? I thought his name was Oliver!" If the story did not grow in telling, the subject which York Powell thrust on him out of the blue first directed Merriman's attention to the century on which it remained focused for the rest of his life.

Powell's assignment took most of five years to finish. The *Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell* in two volumes came off the Oxford press in 1902. Years later Roger Merriman used to speak deprecatingly of the *Thomas Cromwell* as apprentice work. It is true that among scholarly biographies it is as unreadable as most, and spreads its columns of authorities, its formidable bristle of citations, its multilingual sources quoted in full in the original texts, and its faithful retention of the last meaningless eccentricity of Tudor spelling with a somewhat ingenuous ostentation. English reviewers in 1902 found the result German. Oxford friends, who knew about Merriman's sojourn in Berlin and Marburg in 1900-1901 pointed ironically to what they took for the recent Teutonic influence.² Yet all the "Germanism" in the *Thomas Cromwell* came either from Balliol or by way of Cambridge, Massachusetts, where in the spring of 1900 the text was completed before Merriman started for Berlin. Actually the result of his first Continental studies was to diminish, if not his devotion to the scientific spirit, at least his readiness to parade its minutiae.

After all, the workmanship of the *Cromwell* excuses a touch of vainglory. One subsequent researcher, working back and forth from its pages to its sources many times over a period of years, found only two tiny errors in all its references. The letters are accurately transcribed to the last scribble of abbreviation, and there are twenty-one more of them than appear in the calendars—no mean gleaning in the steps of James Gairdner. To Merriman's findings about Cromwell forty subsequent years of rather active Tudor scholarship have added nothing of importance, and subtracted nothing at all. Documents published since 1900 buttress his interpretation of Cromwell's character, verify his shrewd tracing of the main threads of diplomatic negotiation, and confirm his analysis of the forces in domestic politics. Essayists and historians, serious and popular, have come out since with a half dozen or more "real Thomas Cromwells" to suit their tastes and ends. All these turn out to be facets of the three-dimensional figure in Merriman's biography, and the evidence for them all is dredged out of the same two volumes. Meanwhile, professional opinion has come to accept *The Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell* as authoritative.³

In 1902, the year *Thomas Cromwell* was published, Merriman began to teach a course in Spanish history at Harvard and was captured by the subject. The rise of the Spanish Empire was a promising theme for a young American historian in those days. The rhetoric of editors and senators, the in-

² Merriman papers. Private corresp. (1902) and unidentified clipping from an Oxonian literary magazine.

³ Conyers Read, *Bibliography of British History: Tudor Period (1485-1603)* (Oxford, 1933), p. 35, no. 412.

sistent Roman allusions of our public architecture, the general popularity of Rudyard Kipling, all betrayed a renewal of the republic's flirtation with imperial destiny. And the line that connected the United States with Rome was as clear through Spain as through Britain. The last remnants of the Spanish Empire had fallen into our surprised hands in 1898, and since then Theodore Roosevelt's strenuous misinterpretation of the Monroe Doctrine bade fair to make us the general receiver of empires south of the Rio Grande.⁴ It would be important to a nascent American empire to know how the Spanish Empire rose and fell. Or so it was natural for a young historian to believe.

The project, however, took seven years to shape its outlines, and the eight hundred and some densely packed pages required by the first half of that outline took nine more years to write. Thus, by an irony of the time-spirit, the first two volumes came from the press at a moment when few Americans were still enthusiastic about empires. In the summer of 1918, we were belatedly sharing an object lesson in the cost of such luxuries and had announced a crusade to make the world safe for a dogma not easily reconcilable with their future enjoyment. About our own half-hearted adventures in the Caribbean we were feeling justifiably sheepish, and a study of our Spanish predecessors had none of the overtones of contemporary relevance that might have been anticipated as little as two years before, or again, perhaps, two years later. The unhappy timing is not irrelevant to an investigation of Roger Merriman's reputation as a historian. Granted that it is difficult, perhaps impossible, for a serious scholar with long-term plans to catch the veering tides of politics and fashion, it is still hard not to feel that the timing of Merriman's major publications was consistently unlucky, and that appearing at not very different dates, his books might have had a much more favorable reception. But no such considerations weighed with their author. From 1918 on, Roger Merriman was deliberately swimming against the current.

For the style in historiography had changed by 1918, not less than the style of politics. To the masters under whom Merriman had studied, to York Powell and Karl Brandt and Seignobos, no less than to Channing and MacVane and A. C. Coolidge, the chief subject of history remained past politics. Social and economic and intellectual history had long been accorded respectability, but in certain studies it was still considered feasible to subordinate, even at times to omit them. At Berlin, Merriman seems to have been unimpressed by the spreading movement for psycho-sociological history, if he did not altogether ignore it. By 1918 no American could ignore it. A widely read book, skillfully diluting the arguments of Lamprecht and his followers, and

⁴ Cf. R. B. Merriman, "The Monroe Doctrine," *Political Quarterly*, No. 7 (March, 1916).

translating their jaw-breaking jargon into cheerful Americanisms, had set up the standards of the "New History" in 1912. So, while those reviewers who followed no fashions complained of the first two volumes of *The Rise of the Spanish Empire* that they failed to tell a story, or create exciting and colorful characters, the high-brow critics were able to find ready-made reproaches. Speaking by the book, they could chide this example of the "old" history with a "drum and trumpet" bias (the realms of Ferdinand and Isabella, it happens, were usually at war), with an emphasis on political events to the exclusion of "other matters of greater moment," (*The Rise of the Spanish Empire* is political history) and particularly with "a passion for the bare bones of institutions, neglecting the daily life of the people, their songs and sufferings" and etceteras.

Merriman's correspondence in the winter of 1918-19 shows that he realized the set of the critical current and was troubled by it. In spite of the fact that reviews by leading experts in his own field were on the whole favorable, and sometimes warmly enthusiastic, in spite of the fact that he had never envisioned a wide public, he was oppressed by a sense of relative failure. A basic humility, a recurrent distrust of his own powers made Merriman abnormally sensitive both to cavils in the reviews and to the more pointed reservations in the letters of old friends and teachers.⁵ These last, especially, he appears to have pondered painfully. But he had made his decisions and chosen his ground, and on reconsideration he found he could not withdraw. He knew what kind of history he wanted to write, and if the criticisms of his book were directed against that kind of history, he could not profit by them. "Although there have been some changes of detail, the main features [of the plan drawn up in 1909] have never been altered," he wrote in 1918.⁶ When, sixteen years later, the great plan was triumphantly completed, he could have penned that sentence again, unchanged. From beginning to end, the four volumes of *The Rise of the Spanish Empire*⁷ have a steadfast integrity of character. They are all of one piece. They do what they set out to do, and challenge judgment on the deliberate result.

What Merriman set out to do was to describe and (in the sense in which he believed history could offer explanation) to explain the rise and character of the Spanish Empire from its origins to the period of its greatest extent, in Europe and overseas, in the reign of Philip II. Narrative was to be sub-

⁵ Merriman papers, esp. Barrett Wendell to R. B. M., July 7 and July 11, 1918, and J. F. Rhodes to R. B. M., June 26, and Aug. 6, 1918.

⁶ *The Rise of the Spanish Empire*, I, vii.

⁷ *The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New*. Vol. I, *The Middle Ages* and Vol. II, *The Catholic Kings* (New York, 1918); Vol. III, *The Emperor* (1925); Vol. IV, *Philip the Prudent* (1934).

ordinated to exposition; the organization was to be topical rather than chronological; and the emphasis throughout was to be on the political institutions, habits, and experiences, the political choices, chances, and compulsions which determined the pattern of the final structure. It goes without saying that the treatment was to be impartial, objective, "scientific" in spirit, and as factually accurate as human industry could make it. It was to be based throughout on an exhaustive use of the published materials, and in its more detailed second half on archival sources as well. If the techniques required and the standards set were those of the scientific school, the sweeping plan on which they were employed belonged to an earlier, more heroic age.

The scope of that plan was determined by Merriman's primary thesis⁸ that the Spanish Empire, unlike its British rival, was the natural continuation of Spain's medieval history. He saw the force which carried Spain to the Andes and the Philippines as the projection into the sixteenth century of the unexpended energies of the medieval crusades—of the Reconquest.⁹ Therefore a whole volume on medieval history was required before the one on the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella with which a more conventional treatment would have begun. These two were followed in 1925 by a third for the age of Charles V and a concluding one on Philip II nine years later. Although each of these three later volumes covered about an equal span of time, the intention and effect was of a constantly enlarged scale and more detailed treatment, an effect corresponding to Merriman's more intensive study of the Habsburg period, especially its latter half, and achieved not merely by the increasing bulk of each volume¹⁰ but by the greater concentration on the immediate process of development permitted by the solid foundations laid earlier. Within the framework of this general plan, Merriman selected and arranged his material, and determined the scale on which particular topics were treated in accordance with his own fresh insights into their relevance to his problem. In so doing, he often altered considerably the conventional proportions and emphasis of Spanish historiography, revealing unsuspected relationships and bringing order out of previous confusion.

About the accuracy and comprehensiveness of the scholarship with which this plan was executed there can scarcely be two informed judgments. In some respects Spanish history is a forbidding field. The Spanish archives, especially the great depository at Simancas, are not the most convenient in Europe. Spanish historians, as a whole, have been more remarkable for crudi-

⁸ "... the first and most fundamental of my theories," Merriman, *Rise of the Spanish Empire*, I, viii.

⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 3, 53 ff., 183-85; II, 177 ff., 240; IV, 399-400.

¹⁰ Vol. II, 387 pages; Vol. III, 695 pages; Vol. IV, 780 pages.

tion and rhetorical brilliance than for their patience with the minutiae of indexes, footnotes, and bibliographies. The field which Merriman chose to survey was more than normally obstructed by old errors, piously preserved, more than normally confused by passions and prejudices still surprisingly vivid. Through it he cleared a broad and well-marked fairway. Comparison of his Volume III with the Spanish sections of Armstrong,¹¹ and his Volume IV with Forneron and Bratli,¹² and of his text throughout with the text of Altamira y Crevea¹³ (for whom Merriman had the greatest respect) will show the kind of problems he had to solve and the kind of traps he had to avoid. Comparison of his critical bibliographies, still the best guides available to the vast polyglot historical literature of the field he covered, with parallel sections of Sanchez Alonzo's *Fuentes de la historia de España*, will give some notion of the breadth of his reading, though only a full sampling of the titles which he silently ignored in print but which his notebooks show he had examined, will begin to reveal its critical thoroughness. In the enormous field he covered, few relevant details, however slight, seem to have escaped his patient, acute, analytical scrutiny. No work as large as the *Spanish Empire* will ever altogether avoid minor errors of fact, but it would be a reasonable guess that not many works of this century on a comparable scale are more nearly free of them.

Mere accurate factual description, however, was less than what Merriman accepted as the historian's task. From the first he was looking for the meaning of the facts, for the general propositions which would give his study order, coherence, and significance. His method was strictly inductive; he was not much concerned about his larger philosophic assumptions; he regarded generalizations as useful if they described uniformities and suggested causal relationships in specific families of events, and usable only as long as all relevant facts were covered and none had to be forced or ignored to save the theory. By those perhaps naive criteria, he found a number of useful and valid generalizations, a good many more than there is space even to enumerate here. Few of them were entirely original, but the synthesis he made of them lent them a fresh significance and suggestiveness. A sketch of the principal ones, of the main organizing hypotheses, may serve to indicate the quality of Merriman's historical thinking, and the nature of his chief contribution to our understanding of Spanish history.

Merriman found his point of departure in two facts of Iberian geography:

¹¹ Edward Armstrong, *The Emperor Charles V* (London, 1902), 2 vols.

¹² Henri Forneron, *Histoire de Philippe II* (Paris, 1881-82), 4 vols.; Karl Bratli, *Philippe II, roi d'Espagne* (Paris, 1912).

¹³ R. Altamira y Crevea, *Historia de España*, II and III (Barcelona, 1906).

the way the straits of Gibraltar unite rather than divide Spain and Africa,¹⁴ and the way the mountains break up the internal unity of the peninsula, so that the coast lands all look different ways and the *meseta*, the high central plateau of Castile, turns inward upon itself.¹⁵ The first of these facts focused the energies of the *Reconquista*, as an increasingly vigorous response to the repeated blows of Berber invasions, a response which had it followed its natural channel should have carried the Cross to the Sahara on the final ebb of that tide which had carried the Crescent to the Pyrenees.¹⁶ The second of these facts, the difficulty of interregional communications which contradicts the external unity of the peninsula, created Spanish particularism, which is the second principal theme of Merriman's whole book. Because of the fragmentation of Iberian political energies by geographical barriers, the *Reconquista* became, after the thirteenth century, the peculiar mission of Castile, the largest political fragment but the poorest, the most isolated, and the most politically backward. Meanwhile the expansive forces of the eastern lands, the realms of Aragon, were shunted off towards Naples and the Levant as the Portuguese were diverted down the west coast of Africa, and Castile alone, weakened as it was by feudal anarchy and an undeveloped, semipastoral economy, found itself unable for two centuries to push beyond the crests of the Sierra Morena.¹⁷ It is the complex interplay of these two themes as they were modulated by the specific sequence of events which unifies Merriman's exposition of the growth of that sprawling, accidental agglomeration, the Spanish Empire. On the side of internal development, particularism accounts for the curiously decentralized despotism, rigid, arbitrary, and fanatically conservative, which hobbled Spanish administrative efficiency and stifled popular initiative for two centuries. The drive of the *Reconquista* diverted by accident to chimerical aims in Europe and America accounts in turn for the precocious development of absolute monarchy in Castile. For Castile, thrust unprepared into the leadership of the peninsular realms, bought with her internal liberties the strength she needed for her imperial tasks, and imposed her conservative medieval outlook on the more progressive coast lands at the cost of adding their foreign burdens to her own. Thus, the two themes are knit in foreign affairs as in domestic. For at the very moment that Granada was taken and the Castilian push toward Africa could be resumed, the chance discovery of America and the local Aragonese involvement in Italy laid their claims on Castilian energies. Before a balance could be

¹⁴ *Spanish Empire*, I, 4-6.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 35-38.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 21-25, 302-308, and II, III, IV, under "North Africa" *passim*.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 53-78.

achieved, the crowns of Spain passed, by an unforeseen accident, to the Habsburgs with their alien ambitions and responsibilities: their preoccupations with Lombardy and the Netherlands and the Danube, their quarrels with the French, the Turks, the heretics. Confronted by a confusing multiplicity of challenges, braced by a revival of the crusading spirit, Castile refused to choose, and thereby accepted, simultaneously, all the gages thrown down.¹⁸ So, committed at once to the defense of obsolete ideals and the assumption of intolerable burdens, the gigantic sluggish despotism of Philip II plodded onward down the one road which chance and choice and necessity, the unpredictable accident and the irreversible event had left still open. Spain had become the prisoner of her history.

As the analysis of a plot, it is possible to find these basic generalizations of Merriman's deeply moving. As he traces the steps by which Spain stumbled upward to that abrupt pinnacle of power whence no way led except towards catastrophe, the plot even takes on something of the impact of great tragedy, though tragedy to be sure Shakespearean rather than Sophoclean, with a plot in which human passions and foibles, cross-purposes, mistakes, and accidents play a part more obviously decisive than any inexorable fate. But it was only a plot, after all, not a sociological treatise. There was no nourishment in it for neo-Marxists, or neo-Bergsonians, or neo-Platonists. Its historical forces were all relative and complex and contingent, and if in any hierarchy of such forces Merriman was inclined to assign a higher value to geography and economics than to explicit ideologies, and perhaps a higher value still to cultural inertia, he did not therefore refrain from pointing out that on specific occasions political decisions, perhaps determined by someone's adherence to a system of ideas, might reverse what had seemed to be basic economic trends,¹⁹ as the deepest cultural drives might be thwarted or turned awry by the pressure of events,²⁰ and the most firmly rooted institutions wither in a changed political climate.²¹ Among the multiplicity of forces he discerned at work in Spanish history he never isolated one for exclusive pre-eminence. He never even hinted that his long study of a particular historical sequence yielded the master key to other sequences. He was highly skeptical of all such assumptions, and as he went along subjected a good many of them to summary but devastating analysis. In the whole bulk of his writing there is scarcely one generalization sweeping or positive, or paradoxical enough to tempt any critic not familiar with the special field in question to exclaim "Provocative!"

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, IV, 672-80.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, 436-53.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 86-97.

²¹ *Ibid.*, III, 184-86; II, 144-46.

or "Illuminating!" or "Challenging!" In *The Rise of the Spanish Empire* the light and the challenges are all for historians of that time and place, and even so Merriman is always admitting, even insisting, that things might have happened differently, and then—why, the issue would have been different. The only generalization of universal applicability which one can derive from *The Rise of the Spanish Empire* is that the chief cause of history appears to be history.

Such stubborn loyalty to a nineteenth century standard seemed excessive even to many of his colleagues who applauded caution in generalization. Add that the subject matter was as unfashionable as the point of view. That so much emphasis on courts and politics and the personalities of rulers and statesmen seemed downright antidemocratic. That, in the years between Versailles and Munich, his assumption that wisdom and skill in negotiations, prudence, and strength in war could be more relevant to the long-term welfare and security of nations than high-minded ideals, or scientific inquiries, or material wealth sounded not only obsolete, but cynical and rather immoral. Keeping these handicaps in mind, one can understand that, in spite of the outspoken admiration of a handful of specialists, the general attitude of the historical profession toward the subsequent volumes of *The Rise of the Spanish Empire* continued to be tinged with that slightly condescending chilliness, that refusal to take altogether seriously any production so obviously out of date, which Merriman had first experienced in 1918.²²

By writing with the gusto and eloquence of which his temperament was capable, Merriman might have recouped himself with a wider public which would have included, probably, most of his professional colleagues as well. After all, if the framework of his *Spanish Empire* was deficient in sociological speculation, it was still a first-rate plot. But the same tenets which forbade his assent to the new view of historiography denied him recourse to a popular alternative. "Dramatic distortion," he had learned, was a cardinal sin. He was, himself, painfully and continuously aware how loose and tangled, how faded and frayed and threadbare are the strands from which history must be woven compared to the tight, bright fabrics of literary art. So he consistently underplayed his hand. He stated his plot only baldly and at long intervals, relying on the tenacity of his readers' memories and his own careful integration of every chapter around its themes. He made it a point of honor never to force a conclusion and always to envelop even those generalizations of which he felt surest in cautious qualifications. At times this underemphasis

²² E.g., A. P. Whitaker's review in *Journal of Modern History*, VII (March, 1935), 70-71; and Fernand Brandel's in *Revue historique*, CLXXVII (1936), 78-84.

fosters the suspicion that Merriman would almost have preferred not to have uncovered in his studies the plot of a tragedy.

The same principles of scientific historiography which muted the drama in Merriman's plot also muffled his style. As he understood the principles to which he had given his permanent allegiance, they forbade alike the bright primary colors of Prescott and Motley, and the facile effects (then new) of Lytton Strachey and Philip Guedalla. Scientific historiography required an almost morbid metaphysical scrupulosity about the limits of historical knowledge, the qualification of every statement by its source and its degree of probability, the avoidance in writing of those visual reconstructions and apt but possibly apocryphal anecdotes which enlivened Merriman's own lectures to undergraduates. Scientific historiography, in fact, for Merriman and a large number of his contemporaries, made telling the truth about history and at the same time giving any kind of pleasure other than purely intellectual satisfaction a practically insoluble literary problem. Why the dilemma seemed inescapable, Merriman stated in a commemorative article about A. C. Coolidge.²³ "He [Coolidge] did not write easily," Merriman observed, "and was, one might almost say, rather hampered than helped by the enormous extent of his own information; so anxious was he to be perfectly fair, so conscious of the attitude of the other side, that he found it far more difficult to express his own ideas than the man of less knowledge and a narrower point of view." The perverse high-mindedness of the assumptions underlying this passage are characteristic. There is always another side and one must always, first of all, be fair to it, whatever the cost to emphasis and continuity, so that the more one knows the more difficult the problem of statement becomes. The only safeguard against unfairness, against distortion, is the neutral, colorless, painstakingly qualified style.

Nothing could have been more repugnant to Roger Merriman's natural temperament than such a style. By nature he was robust, impulsive, warm-hearted, forthright, quick to generous partisanship or violent dissent, delighting in color and excitement and strenuous combat. One recalls that Merriman's classmates spoke of him as a formidable tackle in the gridiron mayhem of the 1890's, but as too much an individualist and with too low a boiling point to make a perfect oarsman in an eight. He had, moreover, a special excitability in the presence of history, an imaginative sympathy which brought the past immediately alive, so that the result of a sixteenth century diplomatic duel seemed to him as present and as precarious and as much charged with emotion as the result of a Harvard-Yale game. He used to speak, as all those

²³ Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings*, LXIV (December, 1931), 394-403.

who have listened to his informal talk about history can witness, of characters four centuries dead with the same intensity of warm approval or ferocious indignation which, among intimates, he was likely to apply to contemporaries who stirred his feelings. A historian less scrupulous, or simply one born at a different period and accepting different values, might have exploited these peculiarities of temperament to tremendous advantage. To Merriman they were just an embarrassment. In consequence, the conflict between his temperament and his consciously held principles produced in his prose a felt tension, puzzling and distracting to his readers, and too often resolved only by a formal, deliberate awkwardness. As his own reluctant acceptance of this solution hardened into a manner, almost a set of mannerisms, Merriman's style became marked by a peculiar effect of hampered and encumbered strength, like the movements of a cross-country medalist entered in a sack race. Clarity the prose of the *Spanish Empire* never fails to achieve, though sometimes it appears to achieve it only by a disproportionate effort. And there are passages of exposition and comment where every word is in its right place and none is wasted, passages that bring to the attentive reader the exhilaration of a tension for once perfectly resolved. But on the whole, judgment about the merits of *The Rise of the Spanish Empire* is in no danger of being distracted by irrelevant literary graces.

The defects of the book are plain enough. But it is on the qualities for the sake of which those defects were consciously accepted that it challenges our judgment, and has not yet received, perhaps, its proper due. Not just the erudition alone, although without that easy command of the vast range of printed sources and monographic literature in half a dozen languages, without the foundation of three decades of patient, controlled, organized, unrelenting research in libraries and archives, the rest could never have been approached. For these researches give it the first of its special qualities: the imaginative sympathy, the "feel" of the documents and of the men behind them, which is the historian's best insurance against error. Even where he wrote without support of documents which have since become available, Merriman's judgments about the value of evidence, about the order and meaning of obscure events, about the motives and mysteries of individual behavior had an uncanny sureness.²⁴ Anyone who has stumbled through some corner of Merriman's field learns to be grateful for the safe guidance his book affords. And since he had long since ceased to parade his scholarship,

²⁴ E.g., cf. *Spanish Empire*, III (1925), pp. 136-37, *A Further Supplement to the Calendar of State Papers, Spanish* (London, 1940), pp. 435-48 *passim*; also Karl Brandt, *Kaiser Karl V* (Munich, 1937), 207-44 (based on unpublished documents in the Vienna Haus-hof-und staats archiv), and Merriman, *op. cit.*, III, 241-78.

no one without such experience is likely quite to appreciate the deft mastery and precise, impartial justice with which, again and again, the conclusions of an article or monograph have been condensed into a sentence in which they bear exactly their just weight; no one is likely to suspect what strenuous intellectual effort, what controlled imagination and discriminating reticence have gone into composing some of these dryly nuanced sentences. But these are only a part of the qualities on which *The Rise of the Spanish Empire* challenges our judgment. There are others which it is honorable to assume that every practicing historian might recognize. If Merriman's style has no outstanding attractions except a scrupulous truthfulness to the exact extent of verifiable fact, it has that not trivial merit to a high degree. Always his wide scholarship and technical virtuosity were employed in the service of that watchful critical anxiety for a closer approximation to the truth which is perhaps the chief virtue to which historians as a class are entitled to aspire. If his generalizations are cool and unsensational and strictly limited and qualified, they continue to yield a dry, steady light on the mass of concrete facts with which they are concerned. If his exposition is deliberately undramatic, it develops its complex themes with a sustained grasp of their relationships and orchestrates its bewildering richness of material into a compact density of statement which sometimes raises the dry-as-dust craft of scientific historiography to the level of high, if difficult and esoteric, art.

Among the major craftsmen in Merriman's own field his achievement has been recognized. Since these were mostly Europeans, it was chiefly in Europe that it was recorded that a project of historical scholarship unique in its generation had been brought to a triumphant conclusion.²⁵ But suitably, the last word was with a fellow countryman. In the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Charles E. Chapman concluded: "[By this work Merriman is entitled] to rank with Prescott and Lea, also Americans, as one of the three outstanding writers in English on Spanish history. It is an honor for each of these to have his name coupled with the others, and to American scholarship to have produced the three."²⁶ Let that judgment stand.

The last two volumes of *The Rise of the Spanish Empire* were written under increasing difficulties. Advance in rank had brought the usual additional burdens, and it was characteristic of Merriman never to refuse any obligation toward his students or his alma mater. Teaching, administration, the mastership of Eliot House, absorbed a constantly larger proportion of

²⁵ See especially Karl Brandt in *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, XXV (1935), 568 ff.; Henri Hauser in *Revue historique*, CLII (1929) 266 ff.; and Gonzalez de Reparaz Ruiz in *Bulletin hispanique*, XLVII (1945), 103 ff.

²⁶ XV (1945), 355.

his time and energies during his last twenty-five years at Harvard. Not long after the end of World War I, an accidental discharge of buckshot had cost him an eye. Later the remaining eye began to pay the penalty for his refusal to slow the pace of his reading. And in the later 1930's illness beset him. After 1935, Roger Merriman did not undertake another major work. The Spanish archives became inaccessible in July, 1936, and Merriman did not finish the edition of unpublished documents which he had once contemplated, or even, apparently, preserve intact his collection of those already prepared for the press. He put aside the project of a pair of volumes on the decadence of the Spanish Empire in the seventeenth century. Even the usual articles and reviews were spaced at longer intervals.

In the latter years of his life, Merriman did publish two short books which deserve brief mention here: his *Six Contemporaneous Revolutions* (Oxford, 1938), a venture into the field of comparative history, and his biography *Suleiman the Magnificent* (Cambridge, Mass., 1944) completed under the stresses of war conditions and the strain of increasing ill-health, just a year before his death.

Six Contemporaneous Revolutions is a characteristic essay in historical evaluation. In the later 1930's, as the international barometer fell, journalists were turning into historians and historians into journalists in an effort to find some "meaning" in the processes of history. Every publisher had on his current list at least one "interpretation" which reduced the whole complex story of man on this planet to half a dozen or less neat generalizations. Perhaps in consequence of this tendency, Merriman was moved to ask whether sets of events which displayed within the framework of a couple of decades obvious surface similarities and parallels could therefore be taken as symptoms of a general movement in Western history, made to illuminate each other, and perhaps made to throw some light on the whole problem of historical connections and causations. He raised the question first in his David Murray Lecture at the University of Glasgow in 1937, and developed it further in an essay of some seventy-five thousand words, published the following year.

The set of events he chose was striking enough: the almost simultaneous political upheavals in a half dozen countries of western Europe towards the middle of the seventeenth century. The European trend in that century is always described as being toward centralized royal absolutism, with England the sole notable exception. But exactly during the critical years of the English Revolution, 1640-1652, the Continent saw five other efforts to overturn existing monarchies, two of them successful, and the other three serious

enough to cause grave alarm. The two successful ones, of course, were the revolutions in Portugal (1640-1668) and in Holland (1652). The other three were in France (1648-1652), in Naples (1647-48), and the great Catalonian revolt of 1640-1659. All these antimonarchical movements were at or reaching their maximum intensity toward the end of the 1640's, and 1648 was quite as truly a year of European revolution as 1848.

To explain the precise causes and dynamic interrelations of these revolutions and state the propositions from which their origin, progress, and varying degrees of success could be deduced would, of course, have been child's play to any Marxist historian who had happened to notice them. In 1938 the psycho-sociologists were no longer so likely to plump for "soul-storms" in the "time-spirit" as they had been; their *avant-garde* were marching at that moment under the new banners of "social statics" and "configurational interpretation," but all the units of their large and respectable army, scouts and stragglers, left wing and right, could, no doubt, have produced some plausible formula after a few minutes' thought. Just what interpretation the intuitionist and inspirational interpreters of history would have advanced is, naturally, beyond conjecture, but we can be sure that the word "baroque" would have been prominent, plus an uncomplimentary reference to Cartesian metaphysics and Newtonian mechanics. Nothing could illustrate better how far out of fashion Roger Merriman had drifted than his own approach. He actually thought he ought to examine the narrative history of all six revolutions in some detail, accepting the proclamations, petitions, and other documents proceeding from the revolutionists themselves as giving the most credible account of what they thought they were fighting for, and estimating the class composition of the various parties by what was known of their members and by what they asserted to be their aims and interests, checked by what their contemporaries asserted about them. He declined to say that the revolutions had a common program or a common philosophy except so far as parallel quotations from the sources could support such a view, and he discussed their mutual interaction in terms of the positive records which such interaction has left in the diplomatic archives.

A great historian once suggested that "nothing facilitates historical generalization like an ignorance of specific facts,"—or, he might have added, a willingness to ignore them. Roger Merriman had neither. In consequence his conclusions proved unexciting. He found the six revolutions more remarkable for their differences than for their similarities, and the evidence pointing rather to the variability and stubborn uniqueness of human behavior than to the working of any general historical law. All that Merriman was finally able

to assert with confidence was that, by the middle of the seventeenth century, their particular experiences had already fixed the principal states of western Europe in individual molds, protecting each by a tough skin of national egotism which made them strongly resistant to revolutionary infection from abroad. In his last chapter, looking from 1648 to 1848 and beyond, Merriman hazarded the guess that all the triumphs of industrialism and miracles of transportation had not so far decisively weakened the nationalist skin, and that, in fact, it might still prove too tough, and the organism protected by it too stubbornly alive, for permanent penetration by Nazis or Communists, or any other carriers of foreign ideologies, except in so far as such ideologies could be assimilated in each country to a unique national past.

Working historians may be interested in *Six Contemporaneous Revolutions* as an example of the application of a fairly rigorous critical technique to the popular game of historical parallels. There is enlightenment in this essay for any student of mid-seventeenth century politics and diplomacy, and there are suggestions for the extension of its methods to much wider fields by anyone with the necessary patience, scrupulosity, scholarship, and power of suspending judgment. But little in it was calculated to impress the intellectual public in 1938, since nothing in it deferred to current ideas by which most of us, just then, found it difficult not to be swayed. In consequence *Six Contemporaneous Revolutions* attracted little attention, less, perhaps, than it merited.

Merriman's last publication, *Suleiman the Magnificent*, is distinctly a minor work. It was begun in a spirit of piety to the memory of his friend and colleague, Archibald Cary Coolidge, to whom the introduction pays a moving tribute, and whose fragmentary manuscript about Suleiman, laid aside more than forty years before, provided a sort of scaffolding for the earlier part. It was completed under numerous difficulties, of which physical illness was not the least. About parts of the history of Suleiman, the campaigns of his commanders in the Mediterranean and his diplomatic relations with Western sovereigns, Merriman probably knew as much as any man alive. The rest he documented in his usual painstaking fashion, subject to the limitations of American libraries (European ones being, of course, unavailable) and the further limitation of his own ignorance, freely confessed, of any Eastern language. Under these limitations Merriman aimed at a narrative outline of the main political and military events of Suleiman's reign, an outline useful for understanding Western politics at the time, without any gesture toward the social, cultural, and institutional aspect of Turkish history. In his introduction Merriman wrote "I am glad to take this opportunity to testify

to my unshaken belief in the doctrine which A. C. Coolidge constantly preached—namely that a knowledge of the narrative is the indispensable foundation for everything else.”²⁷ In 1944 he was still unrepentant in his defiance of ideological fashions.

The reputation of Roger Bigelow Merriman will depend very little, however, on his minor books, neither on the *Thomas Cromwell* with which he began, nor on the interpretive and biographical essays with which he ended his career. It rests squarely on the four volumes of *The Spanish Empire*. And since both the quality of his gifts and the principles to which he steadily adhered preclude any very wide popular appeal, Merriman will always be essentially a historian’s historian. That is what Merriman himself would have wished. It was always the approval of his fellow craftsmen that he prized, even though he did not prize it highly enough to sacrifice for it one jot of his own stubbornly held views about the historian’s business. In part those views may have been as wrong as they were certainly outmoded. But they cannot have been altogether wrong. Historians must still continue to value the objective pursuit of the facts of political history whatever else they may value. That *The Rise of the Spanish Empire* happened to be out of step with the intellectual fashions of the decades in which it was published is sure to become, sooner or later, a matter of indifference. In the long run, one feels, the reputation of Roger Merriman is secure in the hands of his fellow historians.

²⁷ *Op. cit.*, vi.

Benjamin Harrison and the Presidential Campaign of 1892

DONALD MARQUAND DOZER*

IN the spring of 1892 no impartial observer could have maintained that President Benjamin Harrison had given either the Republican party or the people of the United States the magnetic and responsive leadership that they sought. His high moral principles and his scrupulousness in the administration of his office were generally recognized. "His public and private life has been without stain," wrote a friendly senator, William E. Chandler of New Hampshire, in a signed article in the *Independent Statesman* of Concord, New Hampshire. "He has labored conscientiously and assiduously to do his whole duty in his high office."¹ The President's skill as a public speaker was undeniable. The 144 speeches which he delivered on his transcontinental tour in April and May, 1891, had been highly commended for their variety, aptness, and statesmanlike views.² But his personal manner was irascible, brusque, impatient, legalistic, pinched, and lacking in human appeal. "Grouchy" was the word which Governor Joseph B. Foraker of Ohio later applied to him.³ Sometimes the President himself was constrained to apologize for his bad manners as either unintentional or as resulting from the great strain which the duties of his office imposed upon him.⁴ In the article on Harrison cited above Senator Chandler offered the same explanation when he wrote: "No president overworked and wearied can be amiable and courteous at all times and to all comers. . . . His fault is a slight one. . . . His high reputation for breaking no promises more than offsets all complaints that he lacks cordiality. Whatever may have been his occasional lapses which have evoked criticism, certainly no president was ever more gracious than he can be and has been, on occasions public and private." Inwardly a man

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¹ Clipping dated May 26, 1892, in Benjamin Harrison Papers, Library of Congress.

² Letters and telegrams from F. C. Sessions, Clem Stuebaker, Andrew Carnegie, Levi P. Morton, George F. Edmunds, D. S. Alexander, and W. B. Allison to Harrison, May 1891, in *ibid.* Harrison's speeches on his transcontinental tour were reported in J. S. Ogilvie, Publisher, *Thirty Days With President Harrison: Containing All of His Speeches in Full . . .* (New York, [1891]), and John S. Shriver, comp., *Through the South and West With the President, April 14-May 15, 1891* (New York, 1891).

³ Joseph B. Foraker, *Notes of a Busy Life* (Cincinnati, 1916), I, 425.

⁴ Harrison to James T. Johnston, Jan. 8, 1892, copy in Harrison Papers.

of fine sensibilities and deep emotion Harrison generally concealed his humane qualities under an austere intellectuality, which would hardly be considered a political asset in the campaign year 1892.⁵

In the Republican convention at Chicago in 1888 Harrison had had to compete with a host of rivals for the presidential nomination and had won it only on the eighth ballot by a far from unanimous vote.⁶ The later nomination of Levi P. Morton of New York as his running mate was generally known to be a concession to "Boss" Thomas C. Platt of New York, who was thus won over to Harrison's support in the ensuing election.⁷ In that election the Harrison-Morton ticket received fewer popular votes than the rival Democratic ticket, headed by Grover Cleveland and Allen G. Thurman, Harrison's victory being attributable only to his safe majority in the electoral college.⁸

After Harrison entered the White House in March, 1889, his administration was continuously plagued by factionalism within the Republican party. His selection of James G. Blaine as Secretary of State in January, 1889, represented in part an effort to forestall a major schism in the party but was received with such strong disapproval by Republican leaders in Pennsylvania that it soon created a serious rift between the President and the party machine in that state.⁹ Some of Harrison's other cabinet appointments proved to be almost equally unfortunate from the standpoint of his own political leadership in the Republican party and his prospects for re-election in 1892. Of the eight members of his original cabinet only one had attended the Chicago convention and none had worked for his nomination before the convention assembled.¹⁰ His choice of John Wanamaker of Philadelphia as Postmaster General placed in a key political position a man who in 1888 had favored the nomination of his Indiana rival, Judge Walter Q. Gresham, for the presidency; and in Wanamaker's department, James S. Clarkson, vice-chairman of the Republican National Committee, who became first assistant postmaster

⁵ Harrison's secretary, Colonel E. W. Halford, testified to the genuine warmth of the President's nature in "General Harrison's Attitude toward the Presidency," *Century Magazine*, LXXIV (June, 1912), 305-10 and "President Harrison as Man and Soldier," *Leslie's Illustrated Weekly Newspaper*, CXXVIII (June 7, 1919), 901.

⁶ *Official Proceedings of the Republican National Convention Held at Chicago, June 19, 20, 21, 22, 23 and 25, 1888* (Minneapolis, 1903), pp. 198-99; and undated typewritten paper by L. T. Michener, "The National Convention of 1888," in the L. T. Michener Papers, Library of Congress.

⁷ John W. Foster to Walter Q. Gresham, Apr. 29, 1888, Walter Q. Gresham Papers, Library of Congress.

⁸ Edward Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency from 1788 to 1897* (Boston and New York, 1928), pp. 479, 483.

⁹ Albert T. Volwiler, ed., *Correspondence between Benjamin Harrison and James G. Blaine, 1882-1893* (Philadelphia, 1940), pp. 8-17; and Edward Arthur White, "The Republican Party in National Politics, 1888-1891," unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1941, p. 273.

¹⁰ S. B. Elkins to Harrison, Mar. 8, 1889, Harrison Papers.

general and chief patronage dispenser of the administration, similarly had not favored Harrison's nomination.¹¹ Harrison's failure to appoint T. C. Platt to his cabinet estranged that powerful and vindictive New York "boss,"¹² and his appointment of Benjamin F. Tracy to the post of Secretary of the Navy as New York's representative in the cabinet was not considered entirely satisfactory by either the Platt or the Warner Miller faction in the New York Republican party. His selection of Governor Jeremiah Rusk of Wisconsin as Secretary of Agriculture alienated Henry C. Payne, leader of the Republican party of that state, who was himself a candidate for this cabinet post.¹³ Harrison's later appointments to cabinet positions which became vacant during his administration showed equal disregard for personal political advantage. Charles Foster of Ohio, whom he chose as Secretary of the Treasury after William Windom's death, had been a bitter-end supporter of Senator John Sherman of Ohio at the Chicago convention, and Stephen B. Elkins, who became Secretary of War after Redfield Proctor resigned to enter the Senate, made no secret of his primary devotion to Blaine.¹⁴ On the whole Harrison's cabinet, while outstanding in ability and character, was lacking in political strength to harmonize the dissident elements within the party and in personal devotion to the President.

In his lesser appointments Harrison gave satisfaction neither to independent liberal voters nor to the practical men in the Republican organization. Not sufficiently devoted to reform to please the former he did not show enough appreciation of partisan services and party dictates to please the latter. Such of his appointments in New York State as were deemed favorable to Platt were bitterly resented by the latter's enemies in the state Republican party, including such influential leaders as Alonzo B. Cornell, Cornelius N. Bliss, Horace Porter, and Chauncey M. Depew—all members of the wealthy "blue-stockings" Union League Club.¹⁵ The Pennsylvania political machine, which was headed by Senator Matthew S. Quay, chairman of the Republican National Committee, was not satisfied with his appointments

¹¹ Wanamaker to Gresham, May 30, 1888; Joseph Medill to Gresham, June 11, 1888, Gresham Papers.

¹² T. C. Platt to Michener, Jan. 18, 1889, Michener Papers; and White, pp. 65-70, 152-55. For Platt's view of this incident see *The Autobiography of Thomas Collier Platt* (New York, 1910), pp. 206-207; and the article by William E. Curtis in the *Washington Evening Star*, Mar. 8, 1910, and the two replies to it in the same newspaper, Mar. 9 and 10, 1910.

¹³ White, pp. 277-83.

¹⁴ Michener, "The National Convention of 1888," and Elkins to Michener, Mar. 3, 1888, Michener Papers.

¹⁵ Hamilton Fish, jr., to Halford, Dec. 6, 1890, Harrison Papers. At the time of his inauguration in March, 1889, Harrison was elected to an honorary membership in the Union League Club of New York—an honor which had previously been conferred upon only eight persons including two presidents of the United States, Grant and Garfield. Murat Halstead to E. W. Halford, Mar. 7, 1889, *ibid*.

in that state, and Quay himself, who had supported John Sherman for the Republican nomination in 1888, continued to be openly critical of Harrison's leadership.¹⁶ In his Illinois appointments Harrison showed little regard for the wishes of the senior senator from that state, Shelby M. Cullom, who became disgruntled at his lack of influence with the administration.¹⁷ In other cases the President's general policy of deferring to the wishes of the senatorial or congressional delegations from each state—adopted doubtless in self-defense under the cruel pressure of the prevailing spoils system—sometimes was his undoing, as for example in the case of his California appointments, which were considered to be dictated by Senator Leland Stanford in the interests of the Southern Pacific Railroad.¹⁸

The sharp setback administered to Harrison's party in the congressional elections of 1890, which transformed the House of Representatives from a Republican into a Democratic body, showed that the country was clearly demanding major policy adjustments by the government in Washington. There is good reason to believe that the more aggressive foreign policy which the Harrison administration adopted after 1890 was dictated largely by political considerations looking toward the Republican convention and the presidential election of 1892. The firm position which Harrison took in the negotiations with Italy and Chile and his vigorous handling of the troublesome Behring Sea controversy with Great Britain during Blaine's illness in 1891 and 1892 responded to the political advice of Republican leaders who wanted a foreign policy that would "have the . . . effect of diverting attention from stagnant political discussions."¹⁹ In domestic matters, however, Harrison did not—perhaps could not—make corresponding policy changes after 1890. He did not admit even privately that the high tariff embodied in the McKinley Act might have been partly responsible for Republican reverses.²⁰ In the face of the rising political threat from the Farmers' Alliance and the Populist elements in the Middle West and South—a threat which was viewed with alarm

¹⁶ C. B. Farwell to Gresham, May 24, 1888, Gresham Papers; Quay to Sherman, June 12, 1888, and Sherman to Quay, June 26, 1888, John Sherman Papers, Library of Congress. Thomas V. Cooper to Harrison, May 20, 1889, and Russell B. Harrison to Harrison, June 16, 1889, Harrison Papers; and James M. Swank to Mark A. Hanna, Feb. 28, 1896, William McKinley Papers, Library of Congress.

¹⁷ White, pp. 342-44; and Shelby M. Cullom, *Fifty Years of Public Service* (Chicago, 1911), pp. 126, 249-52.

¹⁸ Stanford to Harrison, Mar. 30, 1889; M. H. de Young to Harrison, Aug. 27, 1889; and J. C. Boatman to Halford, June 6, 1892, Harrison Papers.

¹⁹ William E. Chandler to Harrison, June 18, 1891; P. B. Plumb to Charles Foster, July 29, 1891; and Elkins to Harrison, Aug. 11, 1891, *ibid.*

²⁰ Harrison interpreted the political setback in Pennsylvania in 1890 as "a personal defeat" for Quay and soon after the election expressed to his executive clerk the hope that "Quay would step down and out." E. F. Tibbott's diary, Nov. 8, 1890, reporting a conversation with President Harrison, *ibid.*

by many of his wisest political advisers—Harrison offered no other solution than continued reliance upon Republican tariff and monetary policies.

During the months preceding the Republican National Convention, which was scheduled to convene at Minneapolis on June 7, 1892, Harrison showed no enthusiasm for a renomination, despite the importunities of friends. "A renomination for the Presidency is a thing I could very well forego," the President wrote confidentially to an Indiana friend on January 14, 1892. A month later he was writing with obvious sincerity to a trusted correspondent in Kansas: "I have not been in any state of eagerness about a re-nomination. The fact is I almost shrink from the labor and worry that is involved in a campaign. . . . I did not relish the idea of being put [to] one side upon the theory that I had not had an influential relation to my present term; but justice being done me in that respect, I could really with great satisfaction get entirely out of the way."²¹ He refused to encourage the election of delegates favorable to him and expressed the opinion to some of his closest friends that he would eventually decline to be a candidate.²² Even the action in March of the Republican party of his own state, Indiana, in instructing its delegates to the Minneapolis convention to support Harrison's renomination—an action which the President acknowledged with gratitude—did not elicit from him a commitment to be a candidate. As late as May 10 he wrote to Governor P. C. Cheney of New Hampshire: "My position, as you know, from the beginning has been that if a renomination had to be schemed for by me it was, first, pretty clear evidence that it ought not come to me; and, secondly, rather a discouraging prospect of success." Although the President was widely understood to be receptive to a renomination, his failure to permit a campaign to be organized for that purpose had a chilling effect upon his political supporters and encouraged his party rivals to enter the contest.

By March shrewd political observers in Washington knew that a strong combination was being formed to defeat Harrison at Minneapolis, and they despaired of a nomination by acclamation which would give the party the morale and impetus needed to win the autumn election. Arguing the need for "some quiet organization in his behalf," Louis T. Michener, who had managed Harrison's successful campaign for the nomination at Chicago, presciently wrote on March 10 to Colonel Elijah W. Halford, the President's

²¹ *Ibid.* Unless otherwise indicated, hereafter all references are understood to be to either the Harrison Papers or the Michener Papers and are believed to be sufficiently identified in the text of this article as not to require specific citation in the footnotes.

²² Undated typewritten paper by Michener entitled "Harrison Prior to the National Convention of 1892" in Michener Papers; Michener to Eugene G. Hay, Apr. 29, 1892, Eugene Gano Hay Papers, Library of Congress; and Halford, "General Harrison's Attitude toward the Presidency," *Cent. Mag.*

secretary, "I believe that a systematic organization commenced six months ago would have given him the nomination by acclamation in the next National Convention but, as matters stand to-day, he is not likely to get the nomination in that way, and is very likely to get it in such a way as will not be complimentary."

Michener's apprehension was corroborated during April when the anti-Harrison forces in two states essential to Republican success prevented their state Republican conventions from instructing their delegations to support the President's renomination. The news which came to the White House after the adjournment of the Michigan state Republican convention in the middle of the month that the Michigan delegation, "beyond casting a complimentary vote for [Governor Richard] Alger . . . will go to the President at the earliest opportunity" could not have been regarded by the White House as unqualifiedly auspicious. The crucial question was: Would New York with its seventy-two votes send an instructed delegation to the Minneapolis convention? Before the New York state convention met, Harrison's friends observed that the despotic leaders of the New York Republican machine were massing their strength for the purpose either of compelling concessions from the friends of the President or of securing the nomination of someone else. "The danger of the situation so far as New York is concerned," one of them reported to the White House in a moment of discouragement, "lies in the fact that the party has so long obeyed the commands of Platt and his crowd that personal independence no longer exists, and it is doubtful whether any man of commanding character and influence will venture seriously to oppose any policy which these persons may choose to mark out." Meanwhile, Secretary of the Navy Benjamin F. Tracy, whose official devotion to the President was undeniable and whose influence in the Brooklyn Republican organization was a strong counteractant to that of Platt, bestirred himself to advance Harrison's cause in the New York convention. When the convention finally assembled at Albany, the Brooklyn delegation, following Tracy's instructions, gave Harrison "a healthy booming." According to the report of one of them, they were heartened by "the strong resolutions endorsing the administration[,] Depew's eloquent support of Harrison and the general atmosphere of the convention." But, upon the advice of Senator Frank Hiscock, Harrison's friends in the convention refrained from pressing their resolution directing delegates to vote for Harrison in the fear that it would bring out "a Blaine one to counteract the effect."²³ When the New York convention adjourned, therefore, the delegation was uninstructed. The White House was later re-

²³ Benjamin F. Tracy Papers, Library of Congress.

liably informed that the plan of the New York delegation at the National Convention would be to say to the other states: "If you can elect Harrison without New York, go ahead and nominate him." So desperate did the New York situation seem to some of Harrison's advisers that they suggested that he arrange a meeting with "two or three of the so-called Platt leaders, including perhaps Mr. Platt himself"—a suggestion which the President promptly rejected.

The New York pattern was repeated in several other states. In the New Jersey convention, it was reported to the White House, "it was not thought wise to instruct the delegation, although . . . every reference to the President was cheered to the echo." When the New Hampshire convention adjourned without instructing its delegates, Governor Cheney defensively explained to Harrison that "In no instance have we ever *instructed* Delegates." After the Ohio convention adjourned without instructing delegates, Republican members believed that if an attempt had been made to instruct them "it would have made a bitter fight."²⁴ Several of the delegates chosen by the California state Republican convention insisted that they could not serve as mere messengers of the convention's wishes and were therefore not given instructions. In Minnesota the state convention refused to instruct its delegates on the transparent pretext that to send an instructed delegation to the convention meeting in that state would be "inhospitable"; it was privately acknowledged that the President's friends in the convention refused to force the issue in deference to the strong pro-Blaine sentiment. In the Virginia state convention the anti-Harrison forces, led by General William Mahone, defeated "by over two to one" a resolution to instruct the delegates and to endorse the Harrison administration.²⁵ Harrison's supporters might confidently assure themselves that these uninstructed state delegations would endorse the renomination of the President, but they could not be sure of that result at Minneapolis.

The nature of the opposition to the President's renomination as displayed in the state conventions enabled Harrison's friends to represent him as the champion of the people against the bosses and politicians. "The question, so far as Pa. is concerned," wrote John Russell Young, president of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company, to Harrison's secretary, "is shall the leaders cut his throat?" The editor of a Republican newspaper in Binghamton, New York, Platt's own home district, wrote to the White House, "If Mr. Harrison is renominated the fact that he is not under special obligations to

²⁴ C. H. Grosvenor to John Sherman, May 3, 1892, Sherman Papers. Grosvenor reported in this letter, "There seems to be determined effort going on in all directions to defeat the nomination of Mr. Harrison."

²⁵ Mahone to Sherman, May 7, 1892, *ibid.*

Mr. Platt will help him immensely with the Republican voters in this State." The movement against Harrison, his friends believed, was being pushed by the "rule or ruin" group in the Republican party. "Some of the strongest wire pullers of the country are against him," wrote one.²⁶ Senator George F. Edmunds of Vermont, who was vacationing at Aix les Bains, France, assured Harrison that as he read the news from America about the "Blaine 'or anything to beat Harrison' cabal" he felt ashamed for his party that "the machine men and spoilshunters and jingoists should be able to make even a show of strength in opposition." Another of the President's supporters, Alonzo B. Cornell of New York, employed an even more picturesque phrase when, in writing to Harrison on June 3, 1892, he referred to "the noisy efforts of the motley crew of political harlots now clamoring for your defeat."

On the eve of the Minneapolis convention the important question was, What will Blaine do? Would the Secretary of State, whose personality had dominated every Republican convention since 1876, allow his name to be presented as a candidate? As early as August, 1891, Senator Quay had tried to induce the Pennsylvania Republican convention, then meeting at Harrisburg, to adopt a resolution favoring the nomination of Blaine by the next Republican National Convention.²⁷ Harrison's appointment of Blaine's friend Elkins as Secretary of War early in 1892 was viewed in some Republican circles as evidence that Blaine had reached an understanding with Harrison to enter the presidential race. But in February Blaine wrote a letter to Clarkson, chairman of the Republican National Committee, announcing that he was "not a candidate for the Presidency" and that his name would "not go before the Republican National Convention for the nomination."²⁸ Nevertheless Harrison's backers could not overlook the possibility of a convention stampede to this ever-popular leader.²⁹ They could hardly contain their indignation at the cool assumption that Blaine was solely responsible for all the diplomatic laurels of the Harrison administration and particularly at the studied failure of Blaine himself to "place the wreath where it belongs." Their apprehensions seemed to be confirmed two weeks before the convention assembled when the delegates were deluged with newspapers and circulars advocating the nomination of Blaine with Governor Alger of Michigan as his running mate. Even if Alger, who had large financial backing, was push-

²⁶ Daniel M. Ransdell to Eugene G. Hay, May 11, 1892, Eugene Gano Hay Papers.

²⁷ New York *World*, Aug. 20, 1891.

²⁸ New York *Tribune*, Feb. 8, 1892.

²⁹ P. C. Cheney to Harrison, May 8, 1892; and Gilbert A. Pierce to Harrison, May 15, 1892, Harrison Papers. See also M. A. Hanna to John Sherman, undated but May, 1892, Sherman Papers.

ing this movement for his own political ends without Blaine's knowledge or consent, did it not look ominous for Harrison?

Although Blaine was Harrison's most threatening rival there were other potential candidates who had to be watched. Early in April, 1892, a boom for Senator Cullom of Illinois was reported to the President by R. W. Patterson, jr., of the Chicago *Tribune*.³⁰ Early in 1892 Senator Quay was making overtures to Gresham, then a federal judge in Chicago, as a possible presidential nominee—overtures which Gresham repulsed.³¹ Four months later John Russell Young was reporting in his Philadelphia newspaper that the Pennsylvania politicians, under Quay's leadership, were searching for "any one to beat Harrison" and were giving consideration to "the young [Robert] Lincoln—with his sovereign name," who was then serving as minister to Great Britain, "the young McKinley," then governor of Ohio, and "the venerable Sherman," senator from Ohio.

The latter two in particular aroused apprehensions in the minds of Harrison's supporters. As early as March it was reported to the White House that a movement to make William McKinley the Republican nominee would be launched and an effort made to capture the southern delegates for him.³² Sherman, who had come within sight of the Republican nomination in 1888, refused to eliminate himself from consideration in 1892. Soon after the adjournment of the New York convention he received assurances through Mark Hanna, the Cleveland industrialist and political manipulator, that the faction in New York headed by Senator Warner Miller had come "to an understanding with Mr. Platt and his forces" to unite on Sherman's candidacy at Minneapolis.³³ Shortly before the Minneapolis convention assembled Sherman wrote to a correspondent who was sounding out his political sentiments an equivocal letter which found its way to the White House, "I do not care for the nomination, but if a contingency should arise in the convention when it would seem to be best for the party that I should be nominated, I would accept as a matter of duty, though I do not hanker after the

³⁰ In May, 1889, Harrison had received from Michener a series of letters from certain "men of high standing in Chicago" outlining Cullom's ambitions. Michener to Halford, May 17, 1889, with enclosures, Harrison Papers. See also Michener to Harrison, June 4, 1889, *ibid*.

³¹ P. A. B. Widener to Gresham, Jan. 18, 1892, and Gresham to Widener, Jan. 30, 1892, Gresham Papers. See also Matilda Gresham, *Life of Walter Quintin Gresham, 1832-1895* (Chicago, 1919), II, 660-62.

³² Thomas Hanna to Halford, Mar. 28, 1892, Harrison Papers. Mark Hanna wrote to Senator Sherman on April 7, 1892, that McKinley "has had a feeling that lightning might strike him" and that he [Hanna] "had done a little work in that direction." Hanna to Sherman, Apr. 7, 1892, Sherman Papers.

³³ M. A. Hanna to H. G. Burleigh, Apr. 29, 1892, Burleigh to Hanna, May 4, 1892, and Burleigh to John Sherman, May 5, 1892, *ibid*.

struggle and anxiety that the canvass would involve."³⁴ It may be conjectured that Sherman's speech in the Senate on May 31 and June 1, 1892, opposing the free coinage of silver, which attracted nation-wide attention, may have been intended to advance his availability as a presidential candidate.³⁵

Amidst all this activity on the part of rival candidates Harrison persisted in his refusal to campaign actively for the nomination. During the weeks that preceded the convention he scrupulously confined himself to his official duties. He personally carried on the negotiation of the *modus vivendi* with Great Britain to cover pelagic sealing in the Behring Sea for another year, writing out painstakingly in longhand many of the notes on this question which were exchanged with Sir Julian Pauncefoot, the British minister in Washington. He similarly concerned himself with the negotiations with Italy over the New Orleans riot in which several Italians had been killed. The preoccupation of the President with his official duties was regarded by some of his admirers as wise campaign strategy calculated to increase the Republican party's desire to renominate him as a conscientious public servant. As the President continued to remain aloof from the contest, some of his admirers felt that the ground swell from the people would manifest itself irresistibly at the Minneapolis convention in his behalf.³⁶

Much of the preconvention speculation as to the outcome at Minneapolis was favorable to the President. Toward the end of March one of Harrison's supporters—a Republican officeholder whose testimony perhaps might be considered more sycophantic than objective—optimistically wrote to him, "I have seen, Mr. President, your popularity continually increase . . . until now the tide of approbation is rolling onwards to victory!" Governor Cheney assured Harrison on May 8, "It is not possible to defeat you either at Minneapolis or next November." Charles Emory Smith, editor of the *Philadelphia Press*, reported encouragingly in his newspaper on May 16 that "the last serious effort to defeat the renomination of President Harrison" on the part of Platt, Quay, Cameron, and "brainy but impulsive Tom Reed" had failed and that "the President has more than two-thirds of the Convention assured. With Mr. Blaine out of the field, as he is, there is no power that can beat him." And Senator J. N. Dolph of Oregon wrote confidently in an article

³⁴ Sherman to A. E. Bateman, undated copy in Harrison Papers, June 1892, and A. E. B[ateman] to Halford, June 2, 1892, *ibid.* As shown by its presence in the Harrison Papers, Bateman extracted this statement from Sherman for Harrison's benefit. Bateman's inquiry to Sherman was dated May 31, 1892, and his acknowledgment of Sherman's reply was dated June 2, 1892, Sherman Papers. See also Hanna to Sherman, May 11, 1892, *ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*, *passim*, June, 1892.

³⁶ William H. Grace, a New York real estate appraiser, who had Democratic party connections, confided to Secretary Tracy that he could not withhold his "profound admiration for . . . the quiet potent unobtrusive occupant of the White House." Tracy Papers.

in the *North American Review* for June, "It has been apparent for some time that President Harrison will be renominated."

Other experienced political observers, however, did not feel equally optimistic as to the outcome. Only politically unimportant states such as South Dakota, Missouri, Maryland, West Virginia, Kansas, and Tennessee, whose votes could not conceivably determine the outcome at Minneapolis, had instructed their delegations to support Harrison's renomination. "You have made one of the best presidents this country has ever seen," wrote a New York Republican leader to the President on March 26, "but there is a certain amount of practical work that has to be done in your behalf, as there would have to be in behalf of the angel Gabriel, were he running for office in this wicked world." Republican senators would not make firm predictions as to the outcome at Minneapolis. Senator Chandler of New Hampshire permitted himself only the cautious prediction that "The probabilities are largely in favor of the renomination of President Harrison."³⁷ And Senator Frank Hiscock somewhat more reservedly assured the President on May 26, "I believe the bottom will drop out of the opposition to your renomination." It could not be denied that the opposition to the President's renomination was formidable. Murat Halstead, editor of the Brooklyn *Standard-Union*, scribbled a note to Secretary of War Elkins on May 23, "It looks just now as though the opposition to Harrison was very strong"—a note which Elkins called to Harrison's attention with the comment, "Bro Halstead is a little frightened."

On the very day of Halstead's note, according to Michener's later recollection, the President summoned him to the White House and dramatically announced to him, "No Harrison has ever retreated in the presence of a foe without giving battle, and so I have determined to stand and fight." At the same time he asked Michener to take charge of the campaign for his renomination and to serve as his spokesman at the Minneapolis convention, which was scheduled to begin only two weeks away. Whatever the exact date of the above interview and the precise words of Harrison's commission to Michener there can be no doubt that a short time before the Minneapolis convention the President was stung to action by the opposition to his candidacy on the part of Platt, Quay, and other Republican leaders, that he finally convinced himself that a campaign for his renomination at Minneapolis was necessary as a vindication of his leadership and of the record of his administration, and that he entrusted to Michener the responsibility of serving as his Warwick at the convention.³⁸

³⁷ Signed article in *Independent Statesman*, cited above, note 1.

³⁸ Typewritten, undated papers by L. T. Michener entitled "Party Organization in Indiana

Michener, who thus assumed charge of Harrison's campaign for renomination at Minneapolis, is now a little known figure, but his career and activities cannot be overlooked in any attempt to understand the political history of the Harrison period.³⁹ According to his own statement, his acquaintance with Benjamin Harrison began in 1876, and he identified himself with Harrison's political interests in 1884.⁴⁰ Both the Michener and the Harrison Papers in the Library of Congress show that the two men were carrying on a friendly correspondence on political matters as early as 1881 when Michener was a member of a law firm in Shelbyville, Indiana, and Harrison was serving as a United States senator from that state. Prior to the Republican convention of 1884 Michener, who was one of the Indiana delegates, was considered by his political friends to be supporting Blaine for the presidential nomination, but if so he soon switched his political allegiance to Harrison.⁴¹ In 1886 he was elected attorney general of Indiana at the early age of thirty-eight and two years later was re-elected to that position. At the Republican convention in 1888 Michener served as chairman of the Harrison committee and saw his persevering labors and his single-minded loyalty to Harrison rewarded by the eventual nomination of his candidate. That result, though due in part to Harrison's availability as the favorite son of a state which was both doubtful and critically needed for Republican success, could be partly ascribed to the shrewd maneuvering of his political managers of whom none was more astute and indefatigable than Michener.

After July, 1889, Michener served as chairman of the Republican state committee of Indiana and from that vantage point unremittingly promoted the interests of his Indiana friends in the national government. His claims upon the administration for services rendered and the confidential relationship which existed between him and Harrison's private secretary, Colonel Halford, former editor of the Indianapolis *Journal* whom Michener familiarly

Had Much to Do with Harrison's Campaigns in 1886 and 1888," "The National Convention of 1888," and "Harrison Prior to the National Convention of 1892" in Michener Papers; and Michener to Eugene G. Hay, May 21, 1892, Hay Papers. Professor David S. Muzzey's undocumented assertion on page 478 of his *James G. Blaine* (New York, 1935) that "Perry Heath of the Post Office Department . . . was in charge of the Harrison interests at Minneapolis" is an error. At Michener's request Heath, who was Washington correspondent of the Cincinnati *Times-Star*, consented on May 30 to "go to the Minneapolis convention to assist other friends in managing his [Harrison's] campaign for renomination, and . . . to give particular attention to the newspaper work." Heath to Michener, May 30, 1892, Michener Papers.

³⁹ No mention of Michener is made in *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1895-1900), the *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1898-1945), or the *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928-37).

⁴⁰ Typewritten, undated paper by Michener entitled "The Formation of the Cabinet" in Michener Papers.

⁴¹ D. W. Voyles to Gresham, Apr. 11, 1884; and J. H. Woodard to Gresham, Apr. 18, 1884, Gresham Papers.

addressed as "Dad," gave him a strong voice and sometimes a free hand in matters of Republican patronage, particularly those involving Indiana. In accordance with his own avowed political credo that "politics is warfare" he was not, as he himself said, "greatly in love with non-partisan Civil Service reform."⁴² His conception of national politics was only slightly above that of the ward heeler. Convivial, bibulous, bustling, officious, pungent, and dogmatic, he became the acknowledged leader of the Indiana clique of second-rate politicians who played an influential role in Republican politics during the Harrison period. At the time when he assumed charge of the President's campaign for renomination he was engaged in the practice of law in Washington.

When Michener received authority from Harrison to manage his campaign at the convention, he and his political friends immediately bestirred themselves on his behalf. Their strategy, which was the same as they had used with notable success in 1888, was to consolidate Harrison's strength in Indiana and to use the delegation from that state as a center around which to rally support from other state delegations. A member of the Indiana Republican state committee advised Harrison's secretary on May 28, "We can not afford at this stage of the game [to] be too virtuous in our actions." The Indiana Republican state committee immediately sent letters to hundreds of federal officeholders urging them to attend the convention and to support the President's nomination. Michener himself, after levying an assessment of \$500 for Harrison's campaign fund upon all of the cabinet members except one—probably Blaine—set out on a political tour of the Middle West to round up delegates for the President.⁴³ By June 1 he arrived at the convention city with the rest of the Harrison delegation, which was the first to reach Minneapolis, and began to report the progress of the campaign to the White House in a series of highly revealing cipher telegrams, which are still preserved among the Harrison Papers and to which a key has fortunately been found. They reveal much of the inside history of the convention and show particularly how stubborn and dramatic a fight had to be waged to accomplish Harrison's renomination.

From Minneapolis Michener reported to the White House by telegram on June 1 that Cullom "can be handled easily."⁴⁴ The sentiment for Harrison, he assured Halford in Washington, was "stronger here than expected."

⁴² Michener to J. K. Gowdy, Sept. 16, 1892; and Michener to J. S. Clarkson, Oct. 4, 1892, copies in Harrison Papers.

⁴³ Michener to B. F. Tracy, May 30, 1892, Tracy Papers; and Sid Conger to Halford, June 1, 1892, Harrison Papers.

⁴⁴ Cullom made an oblique avowal of his presidential aspirations in 1892 in his autobiography (p. 252), published in 1911.

Senator John Spooner of Wisconsin had easily agreed to support Harrison. But H. C. Payne, chairman of the Wisconsin state committee, was intransigent and would have to be subjected to pressure from Jeremiah Rusk, Harrison's Secretary of Agriculture. At 10:45 on the evening of Friday, June 3, the White House received an optimistic telegram from Michener in Minneapolis that Jacob S. Fassett, a member of the Platt machine in New York and secretary of the Republican National Committee, had been agreed upon as temporary chairman of the convention and that "all looks well . . . good nature prevails." The convention would assemble on the following Tuesday. The situation looked auspicious for Harrison.

The President probably felt that he had less reason to be concerned with developments in Minneapolis than with his wife's health. She was apparently suffering from a condition of nervous prostration, which in the President's words, "makes her extremely reluctant to go to any point where there are many guests. . . . She is so sensitive that just now she dislikes even to be where many people are." On June 1-2 she passed such a restless night that the President himself was up with her until two o'clock in the morning. On Saturday June 4 the news from Minneapolis began to be disquieting. Harrison's supporters had ascertained that the President could count on only 436 votes in the convention, 453 being necessary for a nomination.⁴⁵ Early that morning the White House received a telegram from Michener that a Blaine and Alger boom was being planned in secret and would be launched "with much noise" on the following morning. It was apparent that the movement to nominate Blaine was rapidly gaining ground.⁴⁶ In Washington early Saturday afternoon Blaine sent a brief note to the President submitting his resignation as Secretary of State, giving no reasons, and asking only that it "may be accepted immediately."⁴⁷

Many reasons have been given for Blaine's sudden resignation. His friend and biographer, Edward Stanwood, writing in 1905, charitably attributed it to Blaine's weakened "physical condition," which he said had resulted not only in "the failure of his powers" but also in "temporary delusions."⁴⁸ White-law Reid, recalling the events of 1892 in a letter to Elkins in February 1896,

⁴⁵ Album of Low Water Mark Committee, Michener Papers.

⁴⁶ On June 1, 1892, it was announced that Senator Charles Felton of California favored Blaine. James A. Waymire to Halford, June 1, 1892, Harrison Papers. A. E. Bateman, a member of the New York delegation, writing from New York City informed Halford on June 2, ". . . the Blaine boom has reached *top* here and today there is more muttering and swearing than I have heard in five years against this movement—we cannot elect him." *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Original in Harrison Papers. On the previous day one of Blaine's friends had circulated a story in New York that the Secretary of State intended to resign. Russell B. Harrison to Halford, June 7, 1892, *ibid.*

⁴⁸ Edward Stanwood, *James Gillespie Blaine* (Boston and New York, 1905), p. 343.

blamed "the bosses who so wickedly defiled Blaine's name by their sordid use of it, not because they loved it or cared to protect it, but merely because it was the handiest club for wreaking their revenge on Harrison in 1892."⁴⁹ Colonel Halford, writing in the *Century Magazine* for June, 1912, set forth the view that Blaine had resigned in pique as Secretary of State because he had allowed Harrison's "enemies" to rally about him as a presidential possibility.⁵⁰ Carrying this explanation somewhat further another of Harrison's political friends reported long afterward that Harrison himself had "laid the use of Blaine's name at the door of Mrs. Blaine, where it belongs" and that when a combination of Harrison's political enemies "with her assistance finally drove the sick man into resignation," they did so in desperation, because they realized that Harrison could count upon a majority of the delegates at the convention.⁵¹ Blaine's latest biographer, Professor David Saville Muzzey, after mentioning as possible reasons for Blaine's action the "increasing strain in his relations with the President, waning health, the zeal of friends ambitious for his advancement, [and] the solicitation of political ax-grinders," concludes that "it is doubtful whether the Secretary himself really knew what his own mind was on the matter."⁵² He was an impulsive head-strong man given to hot flashes of temper and quick action which he often immediately repented.⁵³ If in this case, acting either upon his own initiative or under goading from political bosses, family, and friends, he hoped to enhance his availability as a candidate he made an inept move, for it enabled his enemies to criticize him as a willful prima donna and it was severely reprobated even by some of his old friends.⁵⁴

There can be little doubt that Harrison was surprised by Blaine's sudden action.⁵⁵ The immediate effect upon the President was one of relief. His executive clerk, E. F. Tibbott, recorded in his diary on the day following Blaine's resignation:

Blaine's resignation yesterday seemed to make the President more comfortable. He remarked to me yesterday in speaking of it "Well there is one thing, I am sure to

⁴⁹ Whitelaw Reid to Elkins, copy in McKinley Papers.

⁵⁰ See also Michener to Halford, Feb. 9, 1912, Michener Papers.

⁵¹ D. S. Alexander to John L. Griffith, June 7, 1912, copy in Michener Papers. Harrison's friends generally understood that Mrs. Blaine's motive was to get revenge on the President for not promoting her son-in-law, Colonel Coppinger, to brigadier general. Michener, "The Minneapolis Convention of June 7th to 10th, 1892," undated typewritten paper, Michener Papers. See also E. W. Halford, "Harrison in the White House," *Leslie's Illustrated Weekly Newspaper*, CXXVIII (May 3, 1919), 685.

⁵² Muzzey, p. 474.

⁵³ See for example Blaine to J. W. Foster, Dec. 24, 1891, John W. Foster Papers, Library of Congress.

⁵⁴ Felix Agnus to Harrison, June 6, 1892, Harrison Papers.

⁵⁵ Harrison wrote to Andrew Carnegie on June 13, 1892, "The incident of Mr. Blaine's resignation was as startling to you as it was to me." *Ibid.*

be comfortable for the next 8 or 9 months at any rate." His telegram (dictated by him but signed Halford) to Michener is characteristic "The President is indignant that anybody should suspect him of weakening when a fight is on. If the lines stand till he retreats there will be no retreat." After this he went off calmly to church

The composure with which Harrison, usually a self-contained man, received Blaine's resignation undoubtedly reflected an inward anxiety which he must have felt during previous weeks at conduct on Blaine's part which could only be regarded as disloyal.

In other Republican leaders Blaine's flamboyant action produced feelings of bewilderment, apprehension, and dismay. What did it mean? Was Blaine thus signifying his availability as a candidate? Had he quarreled with the President? Could the Harrison forces hold the line at Minneapolis, or would the convention now nominate Blaine by acclamation? When the news of Blaine's action was received at the Union League Club in Philadelphia, a pro-Harrison member reported to Halford, "Everybody realized that it meant disaster." Members of the Union League Club in New York immediately telegraphed New York delegation leaders at Minneapolis to stand firm for Harrison because "the nomination of Mr. Blaine will be a *shock* . . . & the conservative quiet vote wants to let well enough alone." At Minneapolis Harrison's friends were filled with consternation by the news from Washington and some thirty or thirty-five of them assembled in Michener's rooms to consider future plans. Among them Chauncey M. Depew of the New York delegation took advantage of the occasion to make a reassuring speech which strengthened the Harrison ranks and injected new courage into everyone present. As the news of his speech circulated through the hotel lobbies it helped to stiffen the pro-Harrison element in several state delegations, and it was later credited with doing more than any other one thing to keep the Harrison column from wavering under the impact of Blaine's resignation.⁵⁶ Meanwhile telegrams promising continued support were sent to the President by several state delegations which were under instructions to vote for him; and on Sunday evening one of Harrison's lieutenants at Minneapolis telegraphed confidently to him that 530 delegates could be considered safe.

By Monday evening—only a few hours before the convention was scheduled to assemble—it began to appear that Blaine's resignation had not actually impaired Harrison's strength. Michener sent off an encouraging message to the White House: "We are holding our lines admirably and I believe we will win." But as the convention opened, the political situation re-

⁵⁶ William Penn Nixon to Halford, June 9, 1892, *ibid.*

mained so complicated that John W. Foster, one of Harrison's Indiana friends who had served as minister to Mexico and Spain and was now espousing Harrison's interests at Minneapolis, considered a Blaine-Alger ticket to be still a possibility. Michener, a shrewder political observer, was convinced, however, that the Blaine movement was scotched. He reported to the White House at the close of the first day's session "that the Blaine men are about to abandon him" and "are making desperate attempts to find new candidates."

If the best that the Blaine delegates could do was to nominate a dark horse, McKinley seemed their most likely candidate. When they became especially active in demanding his nomination Harrison's friends secured assurances from McKinley that he would not permit his name to be used. McKinley "is standing firm up to this hour," Michener reported by telegram to the White House on Tuesday evening. In order to make assurance doubly sure, the Harrison forces represented at the meeting of the committee on permanent organization which was held late that evening shrewdly moved to make McKinley permanent chairman of the convention, and the motion was carried unanimously. Their object, as Michener later explained, was to make him "the hum-drum presiding officer of the convention, receiving but little applause at any time, and so acting and ruling as to create discontent often."⁵⁷ On the following day the convention as a whole unanimously approved this action and thus relegated McKinley to the platform for the duration of the meetings.⁵⁸

The Harrison forces, however, still faced discouraging obstacles. Particularly disturbing was the opposition which emanated from the Republican National Committee itself and which was attributed to Chairman Clarkson.⁵⁹ There was some doubt, moreover, whether McKinley, whose candidacy was still being stubbornly pushed by his Ohio friend Mark Hanna, could actually be counted out. Hanna, who had reconciled his differences, going back to 1888, with ex-Governor Foraker of Ohio and had persuaded him to support McKinley openly,⁶⁰ confidently informed Senator Sherman as late as Thursday afternoon, June 9, that "Mr. McKinley can be nominated easily."⁶¹ If McKinley was the favorite dark horse Senators Sherman and Allison also

⁵⁷ Michener, "The Minneapolis Convention of June 7th to 10th, 1892."

⁵⁸ *Proceedings of the Tenth Republican National Convention* . . . (Minneapolis, 1892), p. 24.

⁵⁹ John C. New to Halford, June 7, 1892; and Michener to Charles Foster, June 7, 1892, Harrison Papers.

⁶⁰ For the circumstances of the Hanna-Foraker feud see Herbert Croly, *Marcus Alonzo Hanna* (New York, 1923), pp. 128-39; Foraker, I, 363-95; and Foraker to Hanna, Aug. 4 and 16, 1888, [J. B. Foraker], *Correspondence with Senator Hanna* [1884-1903], pp. 114-17, in Joseph Foraker Papers, Library of Congress. Foraker's account of his part in the Minneapolis convention is given in his *Notes of a Busy Life*, I, 447-51.

⁶¹ Sherman Papers. Charles Boynton, a Harrison delegate from Minnesota, telegraphed to Washington on June 9, 1892, that "McKinley is the favorite of dark brigade." Harrison Papers.

continued in the running, and their names began to appeal even to some Harrison delegates as the contests over the seating of delegations dragged on and delayed the vote in the convention. Moreover, some of them began to waver in their allegiance to the President when they realized that much of his convention strength came largely from a few southern states which could not deliver a single electoral vote to him in the November election.⁶²

On Thursday morning, June 9, it appeared to the leaders of the Harrison movement that a critical stage had been reached. As some of the delegates began to yield to anti-Harrison pressures several of the New York delegation, including Hiscock, Depew, and Porter, received telegrams from members of the Union League Club in New York urging them to stand firm for Harrison. Estimates of Harrison votes had ranged as high as six hundred, but no absolutely dependable canvass of his strength had been taken. His friends could not be sure that some of his over-optimistic backers might not relax their vigilance or that some of his lukewarm supporters might not succumb to the pressure for a dark-horse candidate. Accordingly, in order to mobilize and strengthen the Harrison vote a secret caucus of Harrison delegates was called by Michener and A. M. ("Long") Jones, a Republican leader from Chicago, at one o'clock on June 9 immediately after the adjournment of the morning session of the convention.⁶³ The meeting was held at Market Hall on the main street in Minneapolis with 468 delegates, by actual count, present and with Chauncey Depew of the New York delegation as chairman and Christopher L. Magee, an anti-Quay delegate from Pennsylvania, as secretary. The roll of states was immediately called and a conservative tabulation revealed that 521 votes could be definitely counted upon for Harrison. In announcing the result Depew stated that the caucus contained a majority of the National Republican Convention, and the caucus then unanimously resolved to follow Depew's lead in the convention in all questions relating to the nomination. Depew thus became the director of strategy for Harrison's campaign. As a result of this meeting the renomination of the President on the following day was virtually assured.⁶⁴

Blaine's managers had begun to concede privately on the previous evening that Harrison had a majority of seventy to eighty delegates, but not until this

⁶² Hanna to Sherman, June 14, 1892, Sherman Papers, copy in Harrison Papers.

⁶³ A. M. ("Long") Jones had worked strenuously for John Sherman's nomination for the presidency at the Chicago convention in 1888. Jones to Sherman, June 22, 23, and 24, 1888, Sherman Papers.

⁶⁴ Michener to Halford, June 9, 1892; and Theo Willis to Harrison, June 9, 1892. Harrison Papers. See also Michener, "The Minneapolis Convention of June 7th to 10th, 1892." The Michener Papers contain the autograph album of the so-called Low Water Mark Committee, which arranged for the Market Hall meeting of Harrison supporters.

meeting in Market Hall was the shadow of Blaine's nomination exorcised. "Blaine is entirely out of the race," concluded one of Harrison's friends at Minneapolis. "Until the meeting today," another telegraphed the White House, "I was not positively sure of [Harrison's] nomination." Even after the meeting it was reported to the White House by telegram that the "Quay crowd" was trying to deliver the Blaine vote to McKinley. As a result, doubtless, of the Market Hall meeting they met with refusals from "Massachusetts and other Blaine men." "Your nomination is absolutely certain on first ballot," telegraphed the chairman of the Tennessee delegation to the President on Thursday evening. So confident was another of Harrison's supporters that he naively advised the President by telegram to "wire release of all from pledges thus insuring party success and your attainment of position second to none in hearts of countrymen and history." The man who best knew the exact situation, L. T. Michener, succinctly informed the White House, "We will nominate Harrison tonight or tomorrow morning."

In Washington these assurances of victory were received by Harrison with equanimity. On Thursday evening he called in his secretary and, in Tibbott's words as recorded later in his diary,

showed me some dispatches which seemed to surely presage victory. He was as cool & self possessed as if it was a democratic convention. . . . It *looks* very auspicious. Michener, New, Ransdell, Shiel & others corroborate caucus & say it is practically settled. Congratulations are beginning to come in from Minneapolis. Poor Blaine I almost find myself being sorry for him. He was treated shamefully by Quay, Clarkson Platt et al but it really serves him right for his treatment of the President. It is a strange climax to a great career. When he might have gone out of office with honors & with the friendship of his chief he goes out with humiliation & defeat.

Meanwhile at Minneapolis that same evening the Republican convention, bowing to the action of the Market Hall caucus, unanimously adopted the platform which, submitted, ironically enough, by Governor Foraker from the committee on resolutions, commended unequivocally "the able, patriotic and thoroughly American administration of President Harrison."⁶⁵ Confronted by a solid and obviously numerically superior phalanx of Harrison delegates, mobilized at the Market Hall conference by Michener and Jones and generated by Depew, the anti-Harrison forces became all the more determined and desperate in their opposition. Hanna worked all of Thursday night to win Harrison votes for McKinley and to prevent the President's nomination on the first ballot on Friday.⁶⁶ When the convention met on the following

⁶⁵ *Proceedings of the Tenth Republican National Convention* . . . , pp. 88-89.

⁶⁶ Hanna to Sherman, June 14, 1892, Sherman Papers.

day to nominate candidates, Blaine's name was put in nomination by Senator Edward O. Wolcott of Colorado and was given a tremendous ovation—far greater than those which followed the speeches of the venerable Richard W. Thompson of Indiana and Chauncey Depew nominating Harrison. As the balloting proceeded and Harrison's voting strength became apparent his die-hard opponents refused to approve a motion suspending the rules and nominating him by acclamation. The final announcement of the vote showed a majority of 535 $\frac{1}{2}$ for Harrison, 182 $\frac{1}{2}$ for Blaine, and 182 for McKinley, who had not even been formally placed in nomination. It could not be regarded as auspicious for Republican success in the November elections that New York gave 35 votes to Blaine and 10 to McKinley, Ohio 45 to McKinley, and Pennsylvania 42 to McKinley and 3 to Blaine. In these three crucial states Harrison was a minority choice.⁶⁷ At the ensuing evening session of the convention Whitelaw Reid, editor of the New York *Tribune* and a fervent admirer of Blaine, was nominated by acclamation for the vice-presidency.⁶⁸ His nomination for second place on the ticket was indisputable proof of the continuing strength of the Blaine movement in the convention.

Harrison's renomination at Minneapolis, then, far from being an easy triumph in a rubber-stamp convention, was, as the President himself acknowledged, a hard-won victory accomplished by the shrewd and dogged efforts of a "faithful and unstampedable band of friends." Of this band Michener and the members of the Indiana delegation, who enthusiastically supported and solidly voted for Harrison, formed the nucleus.⁶⁹ Complementing the back-stage maneuvers of Michener and his associates were the brilliant and persuasive public efforts of Chauncey Depew, whose power, charm, and prestige made him the acknowledged leader of the Harrison forces in the convention. Without Depew's aid at critical times Harrison might conceivably have entirely lost the New York delegation and, with it, the nomination.⁷⁰ When the Pennsylvania delegation similarly threatened, under Quay's leadership, to stampede to McKinley they were held in check by Christopher L. Magee, president of the Pittsburgh *Times*. The obligation which Harrison owed to Magee was acknowledged soon after the convention adjourned, when

⁶⁷ *Proceedings of the Tenth Republican National Convention . . .*, pp. 117–41. In addition, T. B. Reed received four votes and Robert Lincoln one.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 142–48.

⁶⁹ Albert J. Beveridge, who was practicing law in Indianapolis, credited Michener with the President's renomination in a letter to him on June 10 and hailed him as "a master of political strategy" and the "Von Moltke of political warfare." Beveridge to Michener [*sic*], June 10, 1892, Michener Papers.

⁷⁰ T. C. Platt errs in his *Autobiography* (p. 246) in attributing Harrison's nomination at Minneapolis to John C. New.

the President wrote to him to express "my most cordial thanks for the efficient service you gave me at Minneapolis."

Harrison was considered, particularly by the business interests of the country, to be a safe and sound candidate, and his nomination was followed by an immediate advance in the stock market. Among those who congratulated him upon his renomination were some of the wealthiest and most influential businessmen of the country including Henry Clay Frick of Pittsburgh, Enoch Pratt of the National Farmers and Planters Bank of Baltimore, and Andrew Carnegie. Henry Clews, a New York banker, who received the news of the result at Minneapolis over his "private wire," informed the President that, when he "announced it in Wall Street, there did not seem to be a voice raised excepting to express gratification [*sic*] at the result." The Union League Club of New York was especially jubilant. When the news of Harrison's victory reached the club, Cornelius N. Bliss wrote to Harrison, "there was not a dissenting voice."

Among Republican political leaders William Howard Taft and Elihu Root, Governors McKinley, Robie of Maine, and Alger of Michigan, and Senators Cullom, Spooner, Stanford, and Aldrich hastened to congratulate Harrison on his endorsement by the convention. From the President's own state came a poetic tribute by telegram from James Whitcomb Riley "to the Republican present President who moving up from high to higher becomes on fortune's crowning slope the pillar of a people's hope, the center of a world's desire." On the morning after Harrison's nomination the Republican Club of Portland, Maine, of which Blaine was a member, threw out a campaign banner bearing the names of Harrison and Reid; and the Republican county committee at Owego, New York, Platt's home town, was so overjoyed by the news of the result at Minneapolis that they fired their old cannon one hundred times.⁷¹

Harrison's nomination, however, was not received with enthusiasm in all Republican circles. Mark Hanna, who had been an eye witness to the developments at Minneapolis, wrote to Sherman that it

seemed to fall like a wet blanket upon those in attendance upon the convention outside of the ones most interested in his nomination. I found a good deal of that same feeling in Chicago where I spent Sunday; and on my return home I learn that the feeling here is even more intense in that direction. There is an utter indifference manifested toward his success, and I want to go on record now by saying that nothing except a change of his manner and policy toward the leaders of

⁷¹ Fred N. Dow to Harrison, June 11, 1892, Harrison Papers; and W. A. Smyth to Tracy, June 22, 1892, Tracy Papers.

the party and the utmost consideration toward the men who have contributed so much by their efforts and work in the ranks of the party will save President Harrison from defeat in next November.⁷²

Ex-Governor Foraker of Ohio was not pleased with Harrison's renomination and was disinclined to take an active part in the campaign.⁷³ Platt and Quay were sore at the treatment of their candidates at Minneapolis and were inclined to sulk, and Blaine could obviously not be depended upon for much if any support in the forthcoming canvass. Even Clarkson, chairman of the Republican National Executive Committee, continued after the decision of the convention, in Harrison's phrase, to talk "foolishly and to the detriment of the party."

In New York Harrison's nomination was interpreted as marking the end of Platt's domination and the ascendance of Depew as the leader of Republicanism in that state and seemed to make him the logical choice for the cabinet position which Blaine had vacated. Depew had a long record of loyalty to Harrison. At the Chicago convention in 1888 his withdrawal of his name from the presidential contest in favor of Harrison at the end of the third ballot had started the swing which ended in the latter's eventual nomination.⁷⁴ Before Harrison was inaugurated President in 1889 Depew's name was urged upon him for a cabinet position.⁷⁵ On many occasions during the Harrison administration Depew's advice on political matters was sought by the President.⁷⁶ As early as April, 1891, Depew had come out strongly in a public statement for Harrison's renomination.⁷⁷ He was judged by Harrison's friends to have "been a tower of strength to the President's cause at Minneapolis," and even before the convention adjourned his name was pressed upon the President for Secretary of State.

The President gave prompt and favorable consideration to this suggestion. As early as June 14 Secretary of War Elkins was conferring in New York with both Whitelaw Reid and Depew about this cabinet post. "Every thing

⁷² Hanna to Sherman, June 14, 1892, Sherman Papers.

⁷³ Foraker to C. W. Wooley, Aug. 1, 1892; and Wooley to Harrison, Aug. 3, 1892, Harrison Papers. Later, however, Foraker consented to make several campaign speeches for Harrison.

⁷⁴ *Official Proceedings of the Republican National Convention Held at Chicago, . . . 1888*, pp. 168 ff.; Michener, "The National Convention of 1888"; and White, pp. 70-75.

⁷⁵ Delmore Elwell to Harrison, Mar. 2, 1889, Harrison Papers.

⁷⁶ As a result of a suggestion from his son, Russell Harrison, the President invited Depew to come to Washington to consult with him in June, 1889, *ibid.* See also Harrison to Depew, June 10, 1889, May 23, and June 14, 1890, Chauncey M. Depew Papers, Library of Congress.

⁷⁷ *New York Tribune*, Apr. 27, 1891. D. S. Alexander, United States attorney for the northern district of New York, wrote to Harrison on May 19, 1891, that in a conversation with Depew "last week" he had thanked him for "the kind words he had spoken." In reply Depew "remarked that his interviews seemed to have been published in every paper in the land and they had called out *hundreds of letters and telegrams*. . . . He said he had replied to every one saying that *he meant every word contained in his interview*." Harrison Papers.

looks well," he reported to the President. Two days later an emissary of Secretary Tracy who had been sounding out Depew reported that he was satisfied that Depew would accept the cabinet position.⁷⁸ On June 18 Harrison had an interview with Depew at the White House and cordially invited him to enter the cabinet as Secretary of State. Depew soon afterward returned to New York, and after earnestly pondering the offer for three days declined it by letter on June 21. "So prominent and confidential a relation with yourself, and your Administration," he wrote, "would be in every way, most agreeable to me," but he feared that if he entered the cabinet he might jeopardize the success of the national ticket in the coming election. "One prominently identified with railway management," he explained, "coming into the Cabinet, at this late hour, and in the heat of the campaign might lead to an effort to raise new issues, in the few states, where such questions are as yet unsettled." In other words, his acceptance of an official relationship with the Harrison administration would be a political liability in the Populist states, which might conceivably hold the balance of power in the election. For this reason Depew concluded that he could "do much more effective work now in the ranks, than would be permissible in office." The President yielded to the force of his arguments and accepted his decision in a letter to him on June 27.⁷⁹

The President's offer to Depew of the foremost position in his cabinet not only represented an attempt to discharge a political obligation but reflected his almost desperate anxiety to effect harmony in the New York Republican party before the autumn elections. For though Depew was not *persona grata* to the Platt machine and was an outstanding member of the Union League Club to which Platt's archrival, Warner Miller, belonged, he had played a conciliatory role in New York politics and could, if he would, serve as a bridge between the two factions. Harrison's offer of the post to him, however, showed less evidence of political sagacity than Depew's refusal of it. In order to heal the party schism in New York the President was willing to commit the error, patently suicidal in 1892, of identifying his administration once more openly with the plutocratic "blue-stockings" elements in the Republican party. Four years earlier Benjamin H. Bristow, no friendly critic, had keenly characterized Depew as "a jolly, good fellow—an agreeable man to meet socially &c &c" but "the representative of corporate power & influence and of the Vanderbilt family—which is distinguished for nothing but great

⁷⁸ J. Seaver Page to Benjamin F. Tracy, June 16, 1892, Tracy Papers. On June 18, 1892, D. S. Alexander wrote from Buffalo to Halford that the selection of Depew as Secretary of State "would strengthen the Republicans very greatly in this State." Harrison Papers.

⁷⁹ Depew to Harrison, June 21, 1892; and Harrison to Depew, June 27, 1892, *ibid.* For Depew's own account of this incident see his *My Memories of Eighty Years* (New York, 1922), pp. 138-39.

wealth.”⁸⁰ In an election year when the Populist protest was flaming across the country Harrison’s proposal to bring into his cabinet the president of the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company, who was involved as president, director, or stockholder in a score or more of trust companies, showed a lack of political insight which Depew was quick to correct.

Meanwhile other names had been urged upon the President’s consideration for the cabinet position which Blaine had vacated, including those of Senator James J. Ingalls of Kansas, William McKinley, Senator Spooner, Professor John W. Burgess of Columbia University, Senator George Edmunds, Andrew D. White, then minister to Germany, and President James B. Angell of the University of Michigan. On June 29 Harrison appointed to this position a fellow Indianan, John W. Foster, who, though he had made a distinguished diplomatic record, added little political strength to the administration and had in fact long been a close friend and admirer of Harrison’s rival, Gresham.⁸¹

Harrison’s relation to the ensuing campaign can be quickly told, for though he was made one of the principals by the Minneapolis convention he took an inconspicuous part in the campaign. Mark Hanna’s prediction, made before the convention met, that if Harrison was renominated “it would be the most lifeless campaign for a half century” was largely realized.⁸² Harrison acknowledged the notification of his nomination in a speech to a delegation headed by Governor McKinley at the White House on June 20 but made no other speeches during the campaign and thus did not contribute to it his extraordinary talent for extemporaneous speaking, which had been a striking and perhaps decisive factor of the Republican canvass in 1888.⁸³ He spent most of the campaign weeks at an isolated vacation spot, Loon Lake, in the Adirondacks, in an attempt to benefit his wife’s health, which was gradually ebbing away. The President wrote to Senator Frank Hiscock on August 5, “Just now I am too full of anxiety about her to think of much else.” Seven weeks later he wrote to Whitelaw Reid, “Mrs. Harrison’s condition continues to be very critical and my thought and time is so much given to her, that I am fit for very little else.” From August 5 to September 21 he emerged from his seclusion only once to discuss the points and phraseology of his letter of acceptance with Whitelaw Reid and a group of other New York Repub-

⁸⁰ Bristow to Gresham, May 18, 1888, Gresham Papers.

⁸¹ For Foster’s services in promoting Gresham’s candidacy for the presidency in 1888 see for example Foster to Gresham, Feb. 24, Mar. 1, 16, 26, Apr. 26, 28, 29, May 4, 5, 11, 14, 22, and June 27, 1888, Gresham Papers.

⁸² Hanna to Sherman, May 11, 1892, Sherman Papers.

⁸³ *Proceedings of the Tenth Republican National Convention* . . . , pp. 155–58; and Michener, “Harrison’s Speeches in 1888,” Michener Papers.

lican leaders and to attempt once more to restore Republican unity in that state.

The situation in New York was particularly critical. Soon after the adjournment of the Minneapolis convention Harrison wrote to a correspondent: "Things will have to be pulled together in New York." The nomination of Grover Cleveland as the Democratic presidential candidate on June 22 made it imperative that the New York Republican machine be won over to an acceptance of the Harrison-Reid ticket.⁸⁴ Reid reported confidentially to Harrison on August 6 that Platt was "excessively sore" and that efforts should be made to conciliate him in order to gain "his efficient work in the canvass" and to show the New York Democracy "that the Republican party is absolutely united." He himself offered to serve as intermediary in arranging an interview between Harrison and Platt. Soon afterward Senator Hiscock, who had supported Harrison at Minneapolis, sent a special messenger to the President at Loon Lake to deliver a letter setting forth Platt's grievances against the national administration and stressing the need for a restoration of Republican harmony in New York.

The President's reply to this overture was a conciliatory five-page letter to Platt asking for advice on his proposed letter of acceptance and assuring him that he held no grudges because of the latter's opposition to him at Minneapolis.⁸⁵ Platt was won over by this letter and by his subsequent inclusion in the group of Republican leaders who conferred with the President on his letter of acceptance at Whitelaw Reid's estate in Westchester County at the end of August. The New York boss later was reported to have been "pleased" with this meeting with Harrison, and thereafter he began to work for the election of the Republican candidates. On October 7 he wrote to the President, "I am doing everything in my power to hold up the old banner and carry it forward to victory." Some of Harrison's friends considered this reconciliation with Platt a triumph for the President, who thus, in the words of one of them, forced the New York boss "to eat 'crow.'" On the other hand they felt that it had its dangers for the President because it ranged him with a man who was "'unanimously cussed' by true republicans."⁸⁶ During the remainder of the campaign, however, whether for good or ill, the Platt and Union League wings of the New York Republican party were united.

⁸⁴ Platt disliked Whitelaw Reid as "a persistent assailant of the New York [Republican] organization," *Autobiography*, p. 247.

⁸⁵ Harrison to Platt, Aug. 17, 1892, copy in Harrison Papers. Platt published this letter in his *Autobiography*.

⁸⁶ General I. S. Catlin to Benjamin F. Tracy, Sept. 7, 1892, Tracy Papers. In his *Autobiography* (pp. 246-52) Platt chose not to mention his reconciliation with Harrison and his support of the President in the later stages of the campaign.

"We must remember," Michener wrote to Halford at the White House on July 1, "that we are not organizing a Sunday School convention, or a prohibition meeting, but are preparing ourselves for an attack upon the devil." Michener, to his intense disappointment, was not to be given the responsibility of organizing this "attack." Clarkson's unconcealed opposition to Harrison's renomination at Minneapolis obviously called for a reorganization of the National Executive Committee of the party, and Michener for a time apparently was given serious consideration for Clarkson's position. But opposition to his appointment developed in Indiana Republican circles.⁸⁷ By July 13 Harrison was trying anxiously to persuade either H. C. Payne of Milwaukee or Senator Spooner to take the chairmanship of the National Committee. After they declined, the position was given to Thomas H. Carter, a former congressman from Montana who had been serving as commissioner of the General Land Office in Washington. Soon afterward Harrison characterized Carter in a letter to Whitelaw Reid as follows: "He is a very bright, judicious level headed fellow, and will be very active and thoroughly loyal."

Even this reorganized committee, however, could do little to inject enthusiasm into the Republican campaign.⁸⁸ The President's attention was concentrated upon his wife's illness and he seemed almost indifferent to the outcome of the election. Moreover, the Republicans suffered from the lack of Blaine's campaigning genius, which had been an incomparable asset to them for a quarter of a century. This, in the words of the chairman of the Maine Republican state committee, made it, "in many respects, the most difficult campaign I have ever been connected with." Blaine's only contributions comprised a short speech at Whitelaw Reid's estate in mid-October and an article in the *North American Review* for November, in both of which he somewhat coolly endorsed the Harrison administration while reaffirming his faith in the Republican party's tariff policy.⁸⁹ As the campaign drew to a close Chairman Carter of the Republican National Committee professed an optimism which the political situation hardly seemed to warrant. Writing to the President's daughter he assured her that the party was "in first class shape to win this fight" and that it was not necessary to divert the President "from the object of his tender and affectionate solicitude to give attention to matters

⁸⁷ Michener later explained that he declined the chairmanship "for professional reasons." "The Minneapolis Convention of June 7th to 10th, 1892."

⁸⁸ Ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes recorded in his diary on the day after the election that it had been "the most lethargic canvass ever known in a Presidential contest." Charles Richard Williams, *Life of Rutherford Birchard Hayes* . . . (Boston and New York, 1914), II, 376.

⁸⁹ New York *Tribune*, Oct. 15, 1892; and James G. Blaine, "The Presidential Election of 1892," *North American Review*, CLV, 513-25.

connected with the campaign." On October 25 Mrs. Harrison died at the White House.

In the election Harrison's opponents centered their attack around the charge that his administration was identified with "the money power" and that it formed "a narrow oligarchy in opposition to the needs of the multitude."⁹⁰ They denounced the high tariff, in particular, as a symbol of the Republican party's antilabor and proplutocracy views. On the question of the tariff the Republican and Democratic presidential candidates had made sufficiently positive and opposite commitments while in the White House to provide voters with a clear-cut issue. On that issue Gresham deserted the Republican party in the middle of October, carrying with him large blocs of middle western voters. These and other defections made more ominous the outlook for Republican success.

As the campaign proceeded, the tariff issue began to be overshadowed by broader issues raised by the labor situation. Harrison and his party associates had not shown much awareness of the growing articulateness and potency of organized labor. In the campaign of 1888 Harrison had been pilloried in political tracts and broadsides for his alleged remark that "A dollar a day is enough for a working man."⁹¹ Even before appointing Benjamin F. Tracy to his cabinet as Secretary of the Navy he knew that Tracy had incurred the antagonism of labor groups including Knights of Labor organizations in Brooklyn. During his administration, the increasing openness of his alliance with the wealthy banking and commercial groups which dominated the Republican party and which were personified in the Union League Clubs and his undeviating commitments to the high tariff policy which those groups advocated tended more and more to alienate laboring elements. The nomination of Whitelaw Reid as his running mate accentuated this cleavage, for the New York *Tribune's* adamant position in the strike of its union printers in the summer of 1892 was bitterly resented by large sectors of organized labor.

When strikes broke out in the Coeur d'Alene mines in Idaho in July, 1892, and the governor of that state requested assistance from the federal government, the President ordered troops sent into the disordered area. As a result the strike was crushed and the union miners were forced to retreat into the mountains. Still more serious in its effect upon Republican election prospects was the strike in Andrew Carnegie's steel plant at Homestead, Pennsylvania. Early in July Republican leaders began to note that this strike in

⁹⁰ See for example Senator A. H. Colquitt of Georgia, "The Harrison Administration," *North American Review*, CLIV (June, 1892), 651.

⁹¹ Michener, "The Battle in the State in 1888," in Michener Papers.

a protected industry was handicapping their campaign. So disturbed were they that Whitelaw Reid, with Harrison's approval and the authorization of Carnegie, who was spending the summer at his castle in Scotland, undertook to negotiate a settlement with Henry C. Frick, who was managing the Homestead plant in Carnegie's absence. But Frick refused to settle on any terms except his own, saying, according to the report of Reid's emissary, that "he would never consent to settle the difficulties if President Harrison himself should personally request him to do so. Notwithstanding the fact that he was a Republican and a warm friend and admirer of the President's, the whole cabinet, the whole leadership of the party might demand it but he would not yield."⁹² After the failure of this mission Harrison wrote to Reid: "I have not believe [*sic*] that success would attend such a movement as you inaugurated through Mr. Milholland." To the end of the campaign this bloody strike was cited as proof of the failure of the administration's high tariff policy, of its callousness to the rights of labor, and of its identification with the plutocratic interests of the country. The President himself did nothing to refute these charges.

In the campaign to re-elect Harrison the Republican party spent nearly \$6,000,000, which was almost double the amount spent to elect him in 1888 and was far in excess of any amount previously spent in a presidential campaign.⁹³ The results of the election in November not only gave Harrison a considerably smaller popular vote than he had received in 1888 but transferred the states of California, Illinois, Indiana, New York, and Wisconsin to the Democratic party, thus giving Cleveland a majority of 277 to 145 in the electoral college.⁹⁴ Michener later convinced himself that if he had managed the campaign he could have re-elected Harrison. He felt that the most costly blunder of the campaign was the conciliation of "Platt, Quay and other malcontents, with their insidious and harmful advice and conduct," but this judgment must be regarded as superficial. Harrison's defeat was attributable not to campaign mismanagement but to his failure or inability to respond to the new popular forces which were beginning to appear in American politics. He and his party associates did not adequately appreciate the threat which the People's party offered to their success at the polls. That party, which had met in convention at Omaha on July 2 and nominated General James B. Weaver for the presidency, had adopted a platform calling for radical social

⁹² Reid to Harrison, Aug. 4, 1892, with enclosure "Memorandum of the Visit to H. C. Frick, Esq., Pittsburg, Pa., July 30th, 1892," Harrison Papers.

⁹³ J. S. Clarkson to William Loeb, jr., Aug. 19, 1906, Theodore Roosevelt Papers, Library of Congress.

⁹⁴ Stanwood, *History of the Presidency*, p. 517.

and governmental reform, more effective control of corporate wealth, a graduated income tax, free coinage of silver, and public ownership of the railroad, telegraph, and telephone systems. It made a strong appeal to dissatisfied voters throughout the West and South and was officially endorsed by the Knights of Labor as "the real party of democracy in this campaign."⁹⁵ In the November election it polled over one million votes and won twenty-two seats in the electoral college.⁹⁶ To the defection of labor and farming elements, then, Harrison owed his defeat.

This explanation was acknowledged by Harrison's admirers in their post-election consolations to the defeated candidate. One of them found it "humiliating to think that the slums of Chicago, Brooklyn and New York should settle the destinies of this country for four years." An abundance of evidence from other sources confirms the report of another of Harrison's correspondents that "the labor unions from one end of the country to the other were opposed" to the Republican ticket. Another, representing the Union League Club's point of view, considered Harrison's defeat "attributable to the 'employee' class who secretly and deceitfully voted against their employers from 'pure cussedness.' . . . Our party is regarded as representing the aggregation of wealth, the McKinley Act is alleged to be the rich man's bill. . . ." Ex-President Hayes, a shrewd observer of the political scene, also attributed Harrison's defeat to his alienation of the labor vote.⁹⁷

If Harrison's conduct of the presidency was measured at the polls in 1892 and found wanting, his defeat gave small comfort to the Republican leaders who had sought to block his nomination at Minneapolis, for neither they nor their candidates offered any greater inducements to disaffected and independent voters than did Harrison. Blaine was even more closely identified with the Republican "old guard" and would have added to the campaign only the faded glamour of his name. None of the other expectant candidates—Cullom, Alger, Sherman, or Allison—could have hoped, on the basis of their previous records, to win a larger farmer-labor vote than Harrison. McKinley, who emerged as a strong candidate at Minneapolis, represented essentially the same elements of the party as Harrison. Nor, as events demonstrated, could the defeat of the Republican administration give more than a short-lived comfort to the Democratic opposition. Developments of the next four years were to show that Cleveland was no more skillful than Harrison at reading the signs of the times.

⁹⁵ T. V. Powderly, "Wanted, a New Party," *North American Review*, CLV (November, 1892), 592-95.

⁹⁶ Stanwood, *History of the Presidency*, p. 517.

⁹⁷ Williams, II, 376.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

Postwar Reorientation of Historical Thinking

ROY F. NICHOLS*

ANY great disturbance in the world of action or of intellect produces very noticeable effects upon the methods and controlling thought patterns of historians. It is probable that the recent war will prove no exception and an intellectual reorientation may be anticipated. Such a reorientation will be the second within the memory of many living historians; both will have occurred in postwar periods. That which followed the First World War was ushered in on a flood tide of optimism and was unrealistic and confusing. That which may be in the making is likely to be born in an atmosphere of wary disillusionment and may, because of this fact, more nearly vision the truth.

Before considering the possible directions which the reorientation may take it is illuminating to look backward briefly, to recapture the atmosphere in which the historian entered his first postwar task some thirty years ago, and to see what paths he followed. At that time most historians shared with many public-spirited observers an enthusiasm and an optimism which nowadays arouses a certain nostalgia. All about there seemed to be such signs of progress. Democracy had triumphed, new governments of popular origin had risen in Europe in profusion. There was a vigorous hope of world organization in the form of the League of Nations. An air of a great moral triumph was pervasive, righteousness had conquered. So at this flood tide of optimism the historians undertook a great task. They would tell the truth about the war, apportion the blame ruthlessly. By intensive, vigorous work on the *Kriegschuldfrage*, historians were going to cast aside prejudice and war-time emotion and reveal the truth immediately and regardless. Not only were they confident in their power and their methods but wealthy foundations were there to supply generous funds in aid. Yet it was at this flood tide of confidence and purposeful work that diverse and distorted trends began to appear or be magnified.

The most striking phase of the reorientation after the First World War was the gradual development of a philosophy derived from implications of

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certain discoveries in physics. Henry Adams had been most disturbed by them, and his fellow historians and the reading public began sharing actively his concern when his *Education* was published just at the first war's end. Adams urged the guild to take account of how the second law of thermodynamics might be applied to intellectual force. He pointed out the possibility that man's intellect was following that law of the dissipation of energy and was about to exhaust its force. Historians should trace this dissipation.

Adams' call was followed by a spreading comprehension of the implications of another discovery in physics, Einstein's theory of relativity. Eddington and Jeans popularized such concepts as the immaterial nature of matter and replaced the idea of unvarying, unalterable scientific law with that of law as statistical probability. The historian found in some cases that he must modify his sense of certainty. He realized that his cherished objectivity and scientific accuracy were somewhat illusory and that he was bound to take into account the implications of relativism. It now appeared that the circumstances of the historian's existence established in him a frame of reference according to which he made his judgments; his findings were always influenced by this type of subjectivity. Such thinking in one sense was clarifying; it destroyed a specious optimism and sense of infallibility. On the other hand it tended to create confusion in some minds, it lessened self-confidence and it caused some workers in the vineyard to espouse a doctrine of uncertainty.

A second phase of the altered thinking of historians during this period between wars was that which came from a more intimate association with other scholars in the social sciences. During the 1920's the move to integrate the work of students of man's social behavior ranged all the way from courses in the schools in social studies to the creation of divisions of the social sciences in the graduate schools and the Social Science Research Council. This closer association of historians with economists, sociologists, political scientists, anthropologists, and psychologists was bound to have intellectual repercussions. Historians became more aware of the problems of studying human behavior. They became more interested in certain patterns of human activity which they had hitherto passed by. This occurred in part because historians were conscious that greater demands were being made upon them. As the other scholars in the social sciences advanced in their techniques of social analysis they in effect sent orders to historians for historical data on the background of contemporary social problems. History was even spoken of as the hand-maiden of the social sciences. Increased interest in social and economic history arose in part from the association.

But this fellowship with social scientists carried to new lengths the dis-

concerting influence of the theory of uncertainty. Once the historian had been confident of his place as a humanist. Now he was referred to as a social scientist. What was he? Then there was a second dilemma. He had started out in the dim realms of the past as a teller of tales, a bard, a literary creator of the past. But within the last seventy-five years his growing preoccupation with scientific method had produced a distrust of literary effort. Was not the historian a scientist rather than an artist? This uncertainty as to whether the historian was humanist or social scientist, artist or scientific worker produced a mild type of schizophrenia.

Furthermore historians in this period continued to fall prey to a fallacy which had for long been limiting their effectiveness. They continued to be victimized by a common human failing, namely an interest in annals of government which had made them first the flattering chroniclers of kings and then heralds of nationalism. This is particularly true among the historians of the United States. They began their work in a period of great pride of achievement, when the nation was flushed with zeal for republican propaganda. Viewing the American republic as unique, as a manifestation of the hand of Divine Providence in the affairs of men, historians devoted their attention to the study of the great American experiment, concentrating on the struggle for independence, the process of creating and organizing representative republicanism and its development as a superior system of self-government. This emphasis was buttressed by the Civil War, in which the North made fervent use of nationalism which in turn was glorified by historians in describing the triumph of the Union.

The nationalistic tendency among American historians was further strengthened by the activities of the system of education which created generations of textbook users, through whom the writers of myriad handbooks spread far and wide the emphasis upon American government. Moreover a deep-seated misunderstanding hindered accurate interpretations. The nationalistic historians were ignorant of the implications of federalism. They focused attention on national behavior, national government, and the like. In this fashion they shared the obsession which was so common throughout the historiography of Western civilization and which has created what is really a school of inversion. The members of this school have looked at broad national activities whether political, economic, or cultural, and have neglected the history of the communities where social forces germinate. This tendency to concentrate attention on the surface has blinded historians to the real underlying processes of social change.

There had been a growing dissatisfaction with some of these trends,

though seemingly not too much concern about them during the inter-bellum years. But wars have a way of accelerating and forcing reorientation. World War II was more dynamic in this respect than previous conflicts. Not only did it produce much new history to be recorded and interpreted, but it interrupted the normal course of activity of historians. Many left their teaching posts to go into other fields of action, in the armed services or in civilian war activities; others interrupted their apprenticeships, leaving their dissertations figuratively hanging in mid-air. Many found new interests, some wholly outside of history, others frequented new Clionian fields. All this redirection indicates numerous readjustments made, or in the making, and others that may still be made. Confusion has its advantages; when no one seems to be certain of the path to follow, it is more likely that attention will be paid to the suggestion of new ones which may point out the directions of reorientation.

This reorientation will take place under circumstances remarkably different from those after World War I. Gone is that optimism of the 1920's. The world seems to be tottering on the brink of another conflict, unable to make peace and plagued by the terrors of cold war. The United Nations, this time rather quickly achieved and widely endorsed, seems to have very definite limitations. Democracy everywhere appears in danger. And then there is the bewildering knowledge of the release of atomic energy. All is confusion weighted heavily with dread. In this weary period of disillusionment, there are certain signs discernible on the historian's intellectual horizon.

There are evidences of revolt against some of the implications of the doctrine of uncertainty. The recent program of the Social Science Research Council developed by its committee on historiography has provided interesting evidence of this. Correspondence which this committee had with a large number of historians, the reviews which their report, *Theory and Practice in Historical Study*,¹ received and the discussions which this committee arranged at the meetings of the American Historical Association, Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and the Pacific Coast Branch of the A. H. A. all indicate this dissatisfaction. There is a definite desire to restudy methodology and dominant concepts and a certain demand that efforts be made to advance the limits of certainty. There is no point in trying to predict now the nature of the impending reorientation. But it will be profitable to discuss certain trends in the hope that the discussions may be productive of intellectual progress. Faith, we have it on the best authority, is the substance of things hoped for.

¹ Social Science Research Council Bulletin 54 (New York, 1946).

There are two trends in particular which may profitably be emphasized. The first is the abandonment of the cherished pattern of inversion and the second is an insistence that historians attain a higher level of intellectual performance.

The readjustment of perspective to be accomplished by the abandonment of inversion may be achieved by turning to the other end of the scale, by engaging in a species of historical atomic exploration. Just as the natural scientists turned from galaxies to atoms, so should historians turn from their nationalistic macrocosms to the microcosms of community behavior. For the community can be dubbed the historical atom; in villages, towns, cities, counties, and the like are found the basic units of human behavior. The forces which mold the destiny of nations are generated in recognized spots, in localities—they do not spring up spontaneously over the vast areas occupied by great nations nor are they generated in capitals. Special techniques are needed for this atomic exploration. If the historian is to focus his microscope upon this field of greater realism, he must make a systematic study of the best methods of investigating local history.

It is quite obvious that when we speak of local history we are not speaking in terms of the antiquarian or hack-compiled miscellany found so frequently in the compendious “mug” books. Nor are we thinking of those glorifications of the unique virtue of various towns and cities inspired by chambers of commerce and publicity writers on the occasion of centennials and the like. Nor are we referring to any local history done purely for the sake of local history, nor to local history done because it can make a contribution to social science. We are rather concerned with what local history can do for history itself and for the world of the intellect.

The best means of developing this historical atom-studying technique is to improve methods of fragmentation and sampling. The development of such fragmentation calls for careful planning. Whatever has been done with this or with other forms of sampling has generally been undertaken haphazardly, largely without plan. Often there have been too many fragments of one kind, too few or none at all of another. So much that has been done has been the product of the whims or special interests of seminar directors or of the hobbies or hunches of students.

Planning can certainly be done better by the institute method, which should be given much wider trial. There are many experiments in institutes in area-language fields where elaborate programs for studying Russia, India, the Far East, Latin America, and other regions and societies are being developed. Yet historians are neglecting an implication of the idea which is just

as significant, perhaps more so. There is need for area-community institutes studying general historical problems in their own setting.

The growth of universities, historical societies, public libraries, museums, and union catalogues has brought the available historical data under controls undreamed of a quarter of a century ago. This concentration has made a systematically planned coverage of historical areas much more practical. Some attempts have been made, notably in Chicago, but the idea needs more extensive working to cover broad metropolitan areas which now in many instances spread beyond city limits and occasionally cross state boundaries. Such studies might be laid out along many lines. It is evident that there is a great sense of the immediacy of some problems of human behavior and a feeling that historians should concentrate some of their best efforts in these areas. Reference may be made to a few as examples.

The twentieth century has produced three situations which are as they say "a challenge to the historians." There has been a return to warfare which has become almost constant and increasingly dangerous. There have been serious challenges to democracy, to systems of "free enterprise." Also, as a result of some of these probably, there has come a renewed interest in ethics and religion as a means of solving problems. There is a sense of peril in the air. Consequently society has need of more knowledge of the basic behavior patterns which induce peril-producing phenomena. We need more information, accurate scientific information, regarding the actual operation in communities of the habits of co-operation and competition which are the basis of peace and war, of liberty and restraint, and of the actual ethical and religious behavior of men and women.

But these should not be isolated studies, unrelated. It would be desirable if programs of research could be worked out in divers institutions on the basis of sampling, so that the experience of various towns and cities, rural districts and counties, and of greater metropolitan areas could be systematically studied to compare how the problems of competition and co-operation, liberty and restraint, ethics and religion were handled, not as separate problems but as a part of the general problem of community behavior.

The institutes would also cover much wider ground, either following lines of the obvious categories of community growth or exploring other even more profitable fields. In co-operation with modern European historians, and even ancient and medieval historians, certain patterns of community behavior might be studied. Cities are as old as history and their experience in the ancient and medieval world flowed right on into modern times. Such study could provide for a more detached and scientific exploration, divorced

from the tendency to frame interest in a specious and unique nationalism.

Work of this character will help to produce a technique of historical sampling as a basis for generalization which the historian must learn, unless he is to give up in despair before the paralyzing mass of data. It will throw light also on the world-wide problem of keeping the peace. It will make more possible an understanding of certain similarities between behavior patterns of peoples of various nationalities and thus take some of the emphasis away from rivalry and difference. The clearer understanding, arising from the knowledge of microcosms and the fundamental processes illustrated therein, would instill greater confidence in the methodology which the historian strives to use effectively as a means for discovering truth.

The second trend to be encouraged is the desire of certain historians to undertake a higher level of performance. The first step in this direction is a declaration of intellectual independence. History is not art, science, or literature, it is *sui generis*. It is a division of knowledge with its own character and methods and should be thought of in terms of itself rather than of analogies. It is time for historians to be more positive about their functions, their objectives, and their methods. It is time to stop living by other people's wits, by frantically seeking to adopt other people's jargon, by humbly seeking to be recognized as faithful and reasonably satisfactory handmaids worthy of Thursday afternoons and alternate Sundays on which to do what they really wish. Historians must become independent and self-confident again, and thereby assume a new importance in the intellectual world as scholars with unique functions of their own.

The historian generally concerns himself, when he thinks of methodology, with techniques for accurate fact-finding. He is primarily concerned with discovering, examining, and evaluating a variety of evidence of widely differing degrees of completeness and reliability, much of it never designed to serve as evidence, scattered, confused, in no sense subject to the controlled conditions possible in a laboratory. To collect data and evaluate critically its reliability is a distinct intellectual operation. But there is more to the historian's function than this.

Historians should be most vitally concerned with thought, man's unique instrument. They, above all others, are responsible for making thought more potent by using this instrument in terms of time. Few other scholars, unless they are active as historians of some phase of human behavior, have this skill of thinking in terms of time. The general body of men have it hardly at all.

Lives are so brief, and present situations, particularly in this era of the world's confusion, so demanding, that time and tradition are difficult con-

cepts for society to grasp. Yet what are three score years, as compared with the millenniums of man's past with which biologists are now bewildering him? It may be wondered if historians steeped in time realize how difficult it is for their nonhistorical associates and the general public to realize the technical significance of time in thought? For instance, it is not the most realistic thing to do to worry about Russia just in the terms of the Politburo—the so-called Russian problem is much older than that and much broader than a fanatic zeal for communist ideology.

In our own exuberant society, most people have lived in the present and the future until middle age at least and it is a common saying among those interested in local historical societies that the membership is generally in age groups above forty-five. And yet everybody talks glibly about time; the word has been assumed as a title by one of our most popular periodicals.

The distinctive intellectual function imposed upon the historian by the necessity of dealing with the significance of time is very great. A distinguished English historian, Collingwood, has defined history as the rethinking of men's thoughts, of rethinking the thoughts of those who have gone before. Continually reconstructing situations in which man was called upon to act, the historian must think through with him the problem, for by so doing he will better understand the actions in question and be able to recount them.

The historian must be able to relive, with understanding, human experience at varying epochal points in time. He must do this with a realization that he is living at a different point of time with contemporary compulsions dominating much of his behavior. He must strive, and this is his great task, to correct for that error and to reconstruct the conceptual framework of the period he is studying, to know the conditions dominating thought and action in that time, and then think in such terms rather than in those which his normal present-mindedness would dictate.

For this task the historian frequently is not well trained. Too much attention during his novitiate is placed upon critical apparatus for testing the validity of the data, too little upon the techniques of recasting his thought in terms of past situations. There has been much emphasis on work, less on thought. Graduate students in history have not been given sufficient training in the use of the thinking process.

To improve this situation techniques must be developed which equip the historian to relive in his thought processes the thought processes of a time now passed. He must be able to know what men were thinking as well as doing. And if he is really to fulfill his function he must have some inkling of why. Now to understand why there must be more accurate understanding of

what. In understanding the what and the why of the past it is essential to know circumstances, often subtle, which were conditioning thought at any given epoch.

The historian must learn the reciprocal relationship between environment and thinking. Therefore he must know some environment thoroughly and learn to observe how it affects and has affected thinking and how it has been affected by thinking. An excellent type of training is the effective use of local history as cited above. By its study the scholar can proceed from the known to the unknown more efficiently. If his early apprentice work can be definitely planned in terms of analyzing some situation or process in an environment with which he is familiar, where he can revisit the locale, study the terrain, take account of local traditions and mores, many of which he already knows, he can more readily grasp the demands of his technique. The instructor, if he works consciously on this possibility as a definite part of his methodology, may accomplish significant results.

Of course, it may be said that this is a common device, that it has been done since Turner's day and before. But the historian should seek to go beyond the usual method. If one opens the list of doctoral dissertations in progress published by the American Historical Association, one will find most of the local history topics compartmentalized by special behavior designations such as political, social, economic. What is needed is another orientation, more difficult but one more valuable as a form of instruction. This type of study is analysis of the whole picture of community development during a relatively short period of time. A student may learn more of the necessary techniques of rethinking and reliving past situations by the over-all study of a city or county for a ten- or twenty-year period than he can from most other subjects seemingly more ambitious and more significant.

Here it is necessary to interrupt the argument to file a caveat. Locality can be overemphasized—like nationality which has served so long as to become accepted as essential, which it is not—and it may even become a hindrance. The basis of historical study should be people, civilizations not nations, people in their various forms of association, people and their various types of behavior. Places are significant, in that people do not live in vacuums, in mid-air so to speak, but in some definite place; X marks the spot. Also environment has much influence on behavior. However this is reciprocal, as behavior influences environment. Some may go to a desert, draw back or pass hurriedly through it—others may stay and make it blossom. There is no fixed formula that desert plus man automatically either repels or attracts—the result is dependent upon other variables. Overemphasis on place contributes

to the nationalism which has so colored the past work of the historian.

But to continue with the historian's intellectual responsibility. In using and developing his particular techniques of thought the historian should join the philosopher in demonstrating the validity of knowledge; he may do more than just train historians, by supplying the world of scholarship with methods which are of general utility. For his historical methods may be used universally regardless of the epoch or the people. The historian's tools can be employed to solve problems whether they arose in ancient Athens or in modern America. The chief instrument of the historian is the concept of behavior analysis by series over a long time range. Any event X or behavior pattern Y or problem Z is only the momentary pause in a series of situations which for the moment has culminated in X, Y, or Z. What history does, in a way that no other discipline can do, is to project the series far enough back in time so that by proper perspective into the antecedents one can gain a reasonable understanding of why X, Y, or Z emerged from time into this momentary present. Without such an understanding the present cannot have any valid meaning and because the present has so little valid meaning we are in much of the trouble which now haunts the world.

By these methods of reorientation the historian may indeed produce a significant redirection of thought. Redirections of thought may not be as spectacular as the manufacture of atomic bombs but in the long run they may be more significant in the millenniums of human existence. Four of these redirections may be suggested as phases of the historian's reorientation.

First, here in the United States at least, we may at long last be released from the clutches of a heedless optimism. We acquired it partly by inheritance from the lush years of our national youth, partly from certain philosophies of the nineteenth century, particularly as expounded by Darwin, Lyell, and Spencer, and partly from our own phenomenal riches and opportunities. So many people never question the concept of speedy and relentless progress. We are not prepared to deal with the concept of relapse. We have even more or less revolted against the theory of the Dark Ages and find in them the steady burning of a shining light. However, this may be a blindness developed by the unusual behavior of the nineteenth century, which by great material elaboration, mobilization of wealth, and relative freedom from war produced an unhealthy and unreal optimism. Historians must study behavior more carefully in periods of relapse and adjust concepts of progress to embrace a realistic consideration of more grim endurance, struggle, and discouragement and less masterful, heedless faith that all will be right regardless.

Also in this connection it is well to pay less heed, even if the above might

seem to deny it, to concepts of rising and falling, progress and decay. In history one can agree with Collingwood that every so-called decline is also a rise. "It is only the historian's personal failures of knowledge or sympathy . . . that prevent him from seeing the double character at once creative and destructive, of any historical process whatever."²

Secondly, this reorientation can provide release from the slavery of present-mindedness and thus promote the possibility of that philosophical and ethical stabilization which we so much need today. The influence of present-mindedness is pernicious, subtle, all-pervasive. We undoubtedly live in the present, and all history has to be written in the present—there is no blinking these facts. Yet the present can be so pervasive that unless this pervasiveness is evaded it can destroy the validity of historical knowledge. There is always a strong tendency toward, and an ardent school directing, the writing of history in frames of reference dictated by the temporary conditions of the moment, regardless of certain universals or the conditions peculiar to the age in question. But understanding of the past comes from the use of the historian's best technique, that of understanding the past in terms of itself. Therefore present-mindedness must be written off as much as is humanly possible, and it is no easy task. Likewise in these days of uncertainty and fear when new perils seem so overwhelming, when there are those who seem willing to discount heavily the chances of the race for survival, history can redirect thought by supplying the correcting instrument of perspective. Study of long sweeps of time shows that many catastrophes have not meant final destruction but only temporary dislocation covered by eventual readjustment. The calming effect of perspective encourages ethical and philosophical stabilization.

Thirdly by rethinking and thus reliving the problems of local community development and presenting these problems effectively and forcefully the historian develops another great potentiality. His work will enable society to recall and reinforce concepts of moral values, of strength, freedom, cooperation in danger. It will give that sense of the value of these attributes which is necessary if we are to have the will to preserve them. It may prevent us from being swept along the lines of least resistance toward the destruction of individualism by the too great exaltation of the state in the name of social security and justice for the many. A complex society has created a complex government. Must it be too complex for democracy to understand or operate? A complex society undoubtedly produces problems which it takes power in the state to manage. But power is always a temptation, a temptation to which the most high-minded may succumb. Only the strongest sense of the value

² R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (New York, 1946), p. 164.

of individual strength rather than centralized power and mass weakness will prevent the accumulation and then the abuse of power.

For today there are those everywhere who appear as prophets of mass insignificance and the necessity of government by new elites. This has subtle attractions for intellectuals who take pride in their mental capacity. No one wishes to deny that the superior mind can, and does, constantly make discoveries of great social value, but so on occasion does the so-called average person or persons in co-operation. Oftentimes the masses who use the discoveries really make them practical. Furthermore it may be questioned whether inventive and creative persons make the best administrators.³

In this regard it must be remembered that ethical values and standards of conduct, the morals as well as the mores, arise from community experience and are not created by executive orders or laws from a capitol. If we are to have the knowledge of ethical experience essential to the wise adjustment of ethical standards to meet the strain which new releases of energy generally produce, we must have the facts of ethical experience. An important function of the historian is that of conservator of moral values.

Finally, the intellectual energy released by the historian's study can contribute to the preservation of man's liberty. By his explorations in the past the historian should know as accurately as possible what has created any given situation and this knowledge should acquaint him with the possibilities and limits of his present action. Therefore he can estimate within what limits man is free to act. For man will find his freedom the greater the more clearly he understands its limits. With this knowledge of limits he can define liberty. A new capacity for historical understanding and interpretation could thus help to restore man's freedom, permit him better to cope with catastrophe and to command that reasonable optimism so essential for continued achievement.

If in this present period of intellectual reorientation the historian will abandon inversion and recognize both his intellectual independence and his great responsibilities, he may reach a much higher level of intellectual dignity and social significance.

³ James C. Malin, *Essays on Historiography* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1946), pp. 93-94 and *passim*.

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General History

CIVILIZATION ON TRIAL. By *Arnold J. Toynbee*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1948. Pp. vii, 263. \$3.50.)

PROFESSOR Toynbee has collected thirteen recent essays which are intended for the general reader but cannot fail to be of interest to the historian who cares for the broader aspects or the deeper meanings of the entire historical process. In this age of monographs and highly specialized research, the older concept of *Weltgeschichte* has receded somewhat into the background; Mr. Toynbee has revived it and has gained for it a new, wide audience. He owes his success to the urbane grace of his writing, the unusual breadth of his learning, and his remarkable ability to visualize history as a whole. In times of great historical turmoil, readers look eagerly for a synthesis that will lift their vision and broaden their perspective.

Mr. Toynbee had the "priceless boon" for a historian of a classical education. He thus learned to see a unity of civilization beyond the changing boundaries of states, which the age of nationalism often overlooked. It was not always apparent to its historians that Jesus' Palestine and Plato's Greece were more potent operatives in Victorian lives than Alfred's or even Elizabeth's England. Nor can representative government, democracy, or Christianity in the United States be understood today unless one looks beyond its frontiers to England and western Europe and to centuries before Columbus crossed the Atlantic. Mr. Toynbee is convinced that the civilization of which we are part counts for more in our lives than the national state to which we owe allegiance.

While one can readily accept his emphasis on a civilization as the proper unit for an understanding of history, one may still remain doubtful of the parallelism, or philosophical contemporaneity, of civilizations, a point of view that Mr. Toynbee shares with Spengler. Fortunately, he rejects Spengler's dogmatic determinism and humbly and empirically allows a wide margin for the limitations of human intelligence and the contingencies of human liberty. It is, above all, in his theology that he goes beyond the mechanical cyclic process and the sense of inevitable doom conveyed by Spengler. "While civilizations rise and fall and, in falling, give rise to others, some purposeful enterprise, higher than theirs, may all the time be making headway, and, in a divine plan, the learning that comes through the suffering caused by the failure of civilizations may be the sovereign means of progress."

Mr. Toynbee's application of his concept of civilization to Russia, though not original, will at the present time attract the interest of the general reader. The communist regime in Russia shares with the previous Eastern Christian dis-

pensation there the sense of orthodoxy and of destiny inherited from imperial Byzantium. Because Marxism is a Western creed which put Western civilization "on the spot," the descendants of the Slavophiles could adopt it without changing their inherited attitude toward the West. "A creed which allows the Russian people to preserve this traditional Russian condemnation of the West intact, while at the same time serving the Russian government as an instrument for industrializing Russia in order to save her from being conquered by an already industrialized West, is one of those providentially convenient gifts of the gods that naturally fall into the lap of the Chosen People." When Russia made the momentous choice—or, perhaps, when the choice was imposed upon her—between taking her place in the Western world—a direction in which she was moving at the end of the nineteenth century—or trying to build up an anti-Western counterworld of her own, she interpreted Marxism by adapting it to her Byzantine heritage.

Mr. Toynbee sees the problem in a wider perspective. The Russian anti-Western counteroffensive in the form of communism "may come to seem a small affair when the probably far more potent civilizations of India and China respond in their turn to our Western challenge. In the long run they seem likely to produce much deeper effects on our Western life than Russia can ever hope to produce with her communism." In the last five centuries, beginning with the Ottoman attack on the homelands of Western civilization and with the great Western voyages of discovery, our civilization has encountered those of Mexico and Peru, of Byzantium and Islam, of Hinduism and the Far East. Only lately have we become conscious of the effects these contacts have produced on the non-Western world; we may soon enter an age in which their counteraction may affect us. Mr. Toynbee's scholarship and faith point to a way in which our civilization may, through understanding and unity, stand its trial.

Smith College

HANS KOHN

MECHANIZATION TAKES COMMAND: A CONTRIBUTION TO ANONYMOUS HISTORY. By *Siegfried Giedion*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1948. Pp. xiv, 743. \$12.50.)

THE title of this book suggests a study of the power of the machine in modern times. Yet that is not the concern of the book. A machine is usually considered a large metal tool turned by mechanical power. Steam and steel are the symbols of the machine age. Yet steam and steel are not discussed in the book. The word "factory" does not appear in the index; nor are the words "industrial revolution" found there.

What, then, is the author concerned with? He begins with a discussion of the lock; then follows a discussion of the assembly line and of scientific management. Next taken up are the machines on the farm (up to the tractor and the harvester) and then the bakery and the slaughterhouse (mechanization and death: meat).

Part V with 250 pages deals with furniture. In Part VI there is a treatment of the house in regard to cleaning, heating, cooling, and cooking. The last part (there are no chapters) of 86 pages tells us about the bath. The conclusion of the book is called "Man in Equipoise" and the beginning is a long section on "Movement."

The contents appear a bit odd in the matter of emphasis and balance. But they are not as miscellaneous as they appear. I venture to suggest that the tie that binds them together is architecture. For the topics dealt with—except possibly the assembly line and scientific management—concern what goes on in and about a house: locking, sitting, cooking, reclining, eating, cleaning, bathing, etc. The author has a previous book on architecture, *Space, Time, and Architecture*, and is known as a pioneer in modern architecture and art.

The book carries the subtitle, "A Contribution to Anonymous History." But I doubt if there are many lessons here for the historian. In the opening remarks the author says he is really concerned with why in our period there is a split between thought and feeling (which I doubt the psychoanalysts would admit), and he thinks an investigation of "mechanization" will show how this split between thought and feeling came about. As to "anonymous" history, I would say the economic historians are the real contributors to this field of anonymous history. And there has been more than one history written without the mention of any great heroes. There are also histories of invention and many studies of the relationship of invention to social organization and to history.

The author's method may be illustrated by his treatment of the bath. Early baths in Egypt, Greece, Rome, and Russia are discussed. There are baths in the eighth century and in the fifteenth century and in 1850. The Byzantine influence is seen in the Bath El Hajib. Running through the discussion is the idea of regeneration. In the part dealing with the bath there are fifty-nine pictures and designs, a vapor room in a Persian bath, the "Women's Bath" by Albrecht Dürer, a shower bath in the woods, a douche bath, a steam bath apparatus U. S. Patent 13467, August 21, 1855, George Vanderbilt's bathroom, Fifth Avenue, New York City, 1885, a bathroom in Ireland, a prefabricated bathroom, etc. The documentation is quite meticulous. The concluding section is on "Regeneration: a Gauge of Culture."

The author is individualistic, somewhat original, and writes like an artist dealing with meanings and trying to philosophize. In his last pages he calls for more balance. "We must have a new balance between the individual and collective spheres . . . between the psychic spheres and the individual—between spheres of knowledge . . . and between the human body and cosmic forces."

In more matter-of-fact language the book seems to be a short history of some household tools and furnishings (with attention to interpretation) in Western culture in the historical period. It reminds me of the excellent book *The Story of Everyday Things* by Arthur Train, jr., published in 1941. Train confines himself to the United States and his treatment is chronological. The book also suggests

Julius Lips's *The Origin of Things*, which is an account of the most important objects in the material culture of the preliterate peoples.

University of Chicago

WILLIAM F. OGBURN

DIE DÄMONIE DER MACHT: BETRACHTUNGEN ÜBER GESCHICHTE UND WESEN DES MACHTPROBLEMS IM POLITISCHEN DENKEN DER NEUZEIT. By *Gerhard Ritter*. [Fünfte umgearbeitete Auflage des Buches "Machtstaat und Utopie."] (Stuttgart: Heinrich F. C. Hannsmann. 1947. Pp. 256.)

NEXT to Meinecke, the Nestor of German historians, Gerhard Ritter of Freiburg is perhaps the most distinguished and certainly the most productive of German scholars in the field of modern European history. Since the biographer of Stein and the editor of Bismarck's apologia is not less interested in the evolution and influence of ideas than in the rise and fall of states, his writings are of exceptional interest, and his colorful style makes them a pleasure to read.

The contemporary of two world wars (in the first of which he was a combatant and in the second a prisoner of the Gestapo), the Freiburg professor has long been haunted by the problem of the relation of politics to ethics, or, to put it in more concrete form, the use and abuse of power. The first edition, published in 1940 and thrice reissued during the war years, had to expound his anti-Nazi ideology with a reserve which today is no longer required. He seeks a middle way between the idealists and the realists to construct a system of doctrine and practice, neither pacifist nor aggressive, which accepts the inescapable element of force while repudiating it as the sole principle of statesmanship. The book is an eloquent vindication of the higher traditions of Western civilization against the blatant amorality of the Nazi regime; it is also an attempt to rebuild the bridges between defeated Germany and the victorious democracies.

After a broad survey of the ideological legacy of the classical world and of the softening influence of Christian ethics, the author proceeds to an analysis of the teaching of Machiavelli and More. The former, it is now generally realized, never deserved his evil reputation, for he envisaged power less as the application of violence than as a principle of order. Of the degrading subservience of the *Leviathan* there is no trace in the *Prince* and the *Discourses*. If, then, the Florentine is far more than a mere trumpeter of tyranny, the Englishman is far more than an ineffectual angel beating his luminous wings in the void, to use Matthew Arnold's celebrated definition of Shelley. That he detested war, tyranny, and feudal privilege is obvious, but, unlike his friend Erasmus, he is no pacifist. His Utopians may defend themselves and on occasion may strike out beyond the seas. Both these chapters are admirable in their recognition of the complexity of the rival systems. The reader will probably conclude that the gulf between the "welfare state" and the "power state" is not so wide as he imagined.

The longest chapter traces the struggle between the "idealists" and the "realists" through the next four centuries, with special reference to England, France, and Germany; and the author finds as many traces of the *Utopia* in our island record as of the *Prince* in Continental experience. Englishmen will read this generous interpretation of their statesmen with particular pleasure. As a young man Holland Rose, the biographer of Napoleon, once remarked to Gardiner that, in his opinion, the more one studied British policy in the archives, the better it came out. "It always does," rejoined the veteran historian of the Civil War. Professor Ritter is not quite such a eulogist as Kantorowich in his *Geist der englischen Politik*; but his balanced narrative is a wholesome corrective to Reventlow's conception of England as the "vampire of the Continent." Germany, we are reminded, never produced a Machiavelli; neither Hegel, the greatest of her political thinkers, nor Bismarck, the foremost of her statesmen, rejected moral considerations. Next to the Nazis nobody receives such chastisement in these pages as the French Terrorists and Napoleon. Since the "demon" of power can never be destroyed, the task of civilized mankind is to clip its wings. Forty pages of bibliographical annotation round off an inspiring volume which requires and repays careful study.

Chalfont St. Peter, England

G. P. GOOCH

WORK AND HISTORY: AN ESSAY ON THE STRUCTURE OF CIVILIZATION. By Paul Schrecker. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1948. Pp. xviii, 322. \$5.00.)

THE "science of history, which by definition is concerned with an object changing in the course of time," observes Paul Schrecker, "has failed so far to adopt a method of analysis which is appropriate to this class of objects." In this meticulously constructed philosophic essay he seeks to develop a way of understanding the formal structure of civilization which also provides a method of historical analysis and the basis for a scientific theory of history.

For some time now, a substantial number of American historians have been indicating their dissatisfaction with the concerns and consequences of historical research. Together with high technical competence, they find its purposes, by and large, to be of dubious intellectual import and its products embarrassingly uninformed by theoretical considerations. These historians should find *Work and History* well worth their attention. It is challenging in ideas and rich in research suggestions. It may, however, also strike them as somewhat forbidding. Its argument is not in keeping with the thought and literature on civilization with which most of them are familiar. It is frequently tiresomely repetitious, and its language is curiously mechanical, due, apparently, not only to the author's use of an alien tongue but also to his willingness to sacrifice other qualities for the sake of precision and clarity.

The objects of history, contends Paul Schrecker, are changes in civilization

which result from human actions. All historical events consist in human actions—a reminder that historians prone to invoke grandiose abstractions as “causes” should bear in mind. In so far as human actions are held to be susceptible to statement and description in terms of general laws, they are also, says Paul Schrecker, events of nature. But neither all human actions nor all natural events are historical events. What, then, gives human activity historical relevance? When does it issue in changes in civilization and, therefore, so to speak, make history? When the activity, answers Paul Schrecker, fulfills the terms of the concept *work*. Human work, according to the author “the infinitesimal element of all historical change,” is distinguished in the light of four criteria. It is “expenditure of energy, designed to overcome the resistance the object offers to change”; it is designed to produce change, however slight, “within the province of civilization where it claims to be work”; it is “required by some norm of civilization,” in the sense that some point of view inside civilization demands that it be done; and, finally, it operates upon an “object which is in some way perfectible through expenditure of energy in fulfillment of a norm.”

The conception of civilization advanced in *Work and History* appears to be more usable in historical inquiry than that developed in the approach of cultural anthropology which has found favor among American historians. Insisting that civilization must be viewed “as a system of implicit norms actually determining human conduct at a certain point in time and space,” Paul Schrecker also emphasizes the obvious point that all civilizations are “the integrations of results of human work.” Thus, what distinguishes a civilization are neither the psychological characteristics of its ideal types—who are, in effect, constructs resting upon investigation of a civilization—nor its material objects, but the norms which arise from and also determine human work. All civilizations have six distinct fields or areas—the state, science, religion, the aesthetic, the economy, and language—termed “provinces” by the author, each possessing its own norm system. However they may differ from one another in other respects, these six provinces have the very same formal structure, and they are “integrations of acts of work, related among themselves in time and space by connecting links which again exhibit an identical structure.”

This formal correspondence among the provinces of civilization—their “isomorphism”—is one of Paul Schrecker’s key contentions and is dealt with at length in his structural analysis of each of the provinces. In this section of the volume his view of human work as the basic element of history is fully exhibited and the hierarchical character of the norm system of each province elaborately demonstrated. The tenor of the argument may be indicated by the concluding sentence in the chapter on “The State” in which the author defines political work as “work determined by a hierarchy of norms which gradually specify the fundamental norms of a particular state, and its articulation by the generative principle called the constitution.” The generative principle in each province is, of course, susceptible

to change. Revelation in religion and method in science, for example, are equivalent to the constitution in the political sphere. In separating the provinces of civilization from one another, the author does so only to facilitate analysis of their structure, for he stresses interconnection and interdependence among them "in every element of historic reality," and affirms the unity of civilization.

Throughout the essay, Paul Schrecker's conception of human nature plays a leading role. He maintains that interconnected "needs and desires" which inhere in human nature perform a double function: they supply the highest norm in each norm system and the energy spent in work. He finds the mainspring in the political province in the urge to satisfy the "primordial" human desires for justice and security. In science it is the urge for knowledge; in religion for happiness in general (salvation), in contrast to particular happinesses sought elsewhere; in the aesthetic province, where the generative principle is style, for beauty; in the economic province it is the desire to provide maximum satisfaction of a demand with "minimum expenditure"; in language, which, as an object of history, consists in "the well-ordered changing set of norms ruling the association between signs and thought," it is the urge to express consciousness. Manifested in all civilization, these fundamental desires constitute, by self-definition, the driving and organizing forces in each province, for they are basic to the nature of "civilized man," according to the author, who assigns such instinctual drives as hunger and sex to the zoological species.

Within the limits of this review Paul Schrecker's conception of human nature cannot be subjected to the critical examination it requires. Nor is it possible to do more than indicate that his essay also deals with a host of other questions which invite extended comment—with the kinds of norms, their interrelations, and the manner in which they determine work; with the synthesizing function of work; with the relationship of nature to history; with nationalism, social classes, and morals; with freedom, some degree of which is held necessary to all civilization because its different manifestations are regarded as always reducible to "freedom of work"; and with the concepts of patterns, institutions, and traditions, which occupy a central position in the involved discussion of dynamic process in civilization.

By the author's own measure, reading *Work and History* is an act of work. Its form and mode of expression provide resistances which only the expenditure of considerable energy can overcome. The returns are sometimes slight, they frequently inspire a critical response, and on occasion they turn out to be familiar ideas hidden in unfamiliar language. At the same time, however, there can be little doubt about the seriousness and importance of Paul Schrecker's book, for it is the product of an erudite, sophisticated, and fertile mind and it bears directly upon key issues in historical inquiry and thought.

Queens College

HENRY DAVID

THE MEANING OF HUMAN HISTORY. By *Morris R. Cohen*. [The Paul Carus Lectures, Sixth Series, 1944.] (La Salle, Ill.: Open Court Publishing Company. 1947. Pp. ix, 304. \$4.00.)

THE philosophy of history, as a serious scientific discipline, has been sadly neglected in America. Most philosophers lack the requisite historical knowledge, and most historians the necessary philosophical training. We are extremely fortunate to have this important critical study of the nature of history by a distinguished philosopher, regarded by such men as Bertrand Russell, Einstein, and the late Justice Holmes as one of the great figures in the philosophy of science and law. Professor Cohen, who died in 1947 at the age of sixty-six, was celebrated for his profound historical and scientific knowledge as well as his unsparingly rigorous logic, great critical acumen, and penetrating insight. The readers of this volume will gain some of the pleasure and illumination that his friends and students received from his brilliant conversation and his teaching at the College of the City of New York, Harvard, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, and the University of Chicago. Although the lay public can grasp and appreciate the ideas presented in this volume, the professional historian will probably be led to read Professor Cohen's first *magnum opus*, *Reason and Nature*, and to explore his *Law and the Social Order*, *Preface to Logic*, and *The Faith of a Liberal*.

Unlike Toynbee, Spengler, and other propounders of sweeping formulas for the march of human events, Professor Cohen offers no magic key to history. Rather he has undertaken in his first four chapters the far less dramatic but much more valuable task of analyzing and clarifying the possibility and scope of a scientific history; the metaphysical preconceptions of historians; the justifiability of value-judgments and speculations on possibilities, or what might have been, in history; and the nature of causation. He clears away a mass of contemporary confusion, too often mistaken for sophistication. He demonstrates with impartiality the errors of those who argue for impressionism, subjectivism, or skepticism, and those who deny the need for formulating criteria of ethical significance or for considering possible alternatives to the actual course of events. He disproves the arguments for rejecting causal necessity as a myth or for making nature so organically interrelated as to render the task of causal analysis impossible.

The second half of the book offers a valuable critique of the importance of geographic and biologic elements in history as necessary but not sufficient conditions of any particular course of human development. Logically the author should have followed the two chapters on this subject with parallel studies on the economic and social phases of history. Anyone who participated in Professor Cohen's masterly dialogues on the philosophy of civilization knows how incisive and illuminating those chapters would have been. Prolonged illness prevented his rounding out the volume in this way. Instead he included two chapters on "Great Men in History" and "The Institutional Approach to History," which convey some of his

insights on the false dichotomy between great men and social forces, on institutions as long-range constants pervading culture and civilization, and on the basic role in history played by four characteristic institutions of civilization: the city, the social division of labor, the social contract, and science.

The last two chapters form the climax of the book. The author admirably exposes the limitations of three influential theories or "Patterns of Historic Development" (the cyclical, progressive, and retrogressive). His own stress is on the pendulum swing or oscillation of human beings between polar extremes, *e.g.*, fear and freedom, adventure and safety, expansion and centralization. In the final chapter Professor Cohen refutes the champions of nonethical interpretations of history—Calvin, Hegel, Marx, Nietzsche, *et al.*—and shows that "all interpretations of human events which profess to exclude ethics actually smuggle in uncritical ethical judgments" (p. 287). Finally he develops "The Tragic View of History," the positive thesis that history is an indispensable means of testing moral judgments and that it reveals the frequent defeat of noble ideals by brute power. His conclusion is that realism need not exclude idealism and action to make the future brighter than the past. The net result is an enduring contribution to the understanding of the theoretical presuppositions of historical research and interpretation.

Rutgers University

SIDNEY RATNER

OUR EMERGENT CIVILIZATION. Planned and edited by *Ruth Nanda Anshen*. [Science of Culture Series, Volume IV.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1947. Pp. x, 339. \$4.50.)

THE preface of this fourth volume in what is called, alas, the "Science of Culture Series," leads one to be unduly expectant. For it promises a synthesis of "fundamental contemporary ideas" which "can perhaps exert such an influence on the peoples of the world that no ruling caste could venture to defy the moral judgment of this 'conscience' of humanity." The volume aims no less than "to direct the thought and action of mankind." Its contributors, we are told, "present with unfailing vision the future" and "have arrived where they can point to a specific path for humanity leading to the great firmament." If we are to take these immodest words seriously, the book proposes to be a major event in the intellectual history of the West.

It would be unfair so to judge it. Such an audacious synthesis could hardly be attempted without, to mention no others, the participation of the historian, the atomic scientist, and the student or creator of literature and music. Instead we have the results of the "unfailing vision" of five philosophers (Brand Blanshard, F. S. C. Northrop, George P. Adams, W. Pepperell Montague, Jacques Maritain), two political scientists (George Catlin, Robert MacIver), two economists (John M. Clark, Frank H. Knight), a classical philologist (Werner Jaeger), a biologist (Julian Huxley), a student of oriental art (Ananda K. Coomaraswamy), the ex-

ecutive director of the League for Industrial Democracy (Harry W. Laidler), and the editor (Ruth Nanda Anshen). These individual chapters, in the manner projected, could be regarded neither in themselves nor together as a synthesis. The names of the contributors reveal the divergent points of view. These are not actually reconciled in the viscous and undisciplined prose of the editor's last chapter.

But if, properly speaking, there is no synthesis, there is a dominant mood. This is the familiar one that without God, without philosophic absolutism, or at least without religious faith, there will be no emergent civilization. Since this mood is expressed variously, there is little point in trying to discuss it here as if it were presented as a consistent whole. Yet the reviewer feels it necessary to complain about: (1) the ease with which some of its upholders assume the manner of a pontiff; (2) the elevated jargon in which much of this new truth is couched; and (3) the pathetic nostalgia for the Middle Ages. These he finds especially in the essays of Mr. Northrop, Mr. Coomaraswamy, and Mr. Maritain.

Surely it is pretentious of the first of these three to ask us to believe that in his nine pages of sticky language he has arrived at "a final methodology for resolving the ideological issues of our world," given a clue "for the unification of the natural sciences, the social sciences and the humanities," and supplied "the two requirements of an adequate philosophy of the natural sciences." The State Department should take note of his resolution of the US-USSR ideological conflict (pp. 71-72) and try it, if not on Marshal Stalin, then on General Kotikov.

Mr. Maritain must not ask us to believe that the "mental behavior of the common man" is such that when once he "is awakened to the reality of existence and the true life of Reason, to the intelligible value of Being . . . he is henceforth taken hold of by the intuition of Being, and the implications it involves." He would not risk upon a convention of the CIO: "Being-with-nothingness, as my own being is, implies, in order to be, Being-without-nothingness." And there are many of us who are common men in this respect. Nor should he ask us to believe that the "sacral era" of the medieval age was a "humble and magnanimous period of history." Or if so, then we should be told whether the humble were the masses of underfed, overworked, and ignorant peasants serving the élite, or possibly the heretics to whom the magnanimity was shown. It is indeed unfortunate that all the work of modern medievalists should have led to the current nostalgia for an age, which, for all of its fine achievements, we have, in most respects, been trying for centuries to abandon.

This is not to deny, however, that when the contributors descend from their pulpits (I have said they do not all preach), and express their convictions simply and warmly, they have much that is excellent and moving to say. They plead for a world order, organized in accordance with the principles of social democracy, in which a mankind, somewhat purged of its greed and lust for power, may assume responsibility for the fulfillment of its individual and social potentialities. Yet this is hardly the voice of a new prophet crying in the wilderness but rather

the authentic and persistent note of the centuries. If, in this contemporary form, we are to hearken unto it more adequately, it will not be because, in the name of the absolute and eternal truth, we are beaten about the head with the abstract terms of a so-called new dispensation. It will be rather that we, the common men, shall have discovered these things to be true because they have been acted out for us in the terms of Mr. Maritain's "Gospel Justice."

University of Nebraska

EDGAR N. JOHNSON

EMANUEL SWEDENBORG, SCIENTIST AND MYSTIC. By *Signe Toksvig*. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1948. Pp. 389. \$5.00.)

Emanuel Swedenborg by Signe Toksvig, the wife of Francis Hackett and the author of several novels and a biography of Christian Andersen, is an interesting, highly sympathetic study of a great scientist and mystic. Swedenborg was the son of a Swedish bishop, Jesper Swedberg, whose religious orthodoxy, piety, and hypocrisy must have left a deep impression upon the highly sensitive son. The home environment, extensive travels abroad, and an inquiring and introspective mind caused the Swedish scientist to turn from deism to theism and mysticism, and from scientific production to religious writing. Miss Toksvig concerns herself only superficially with Swedenborg as a scientist and finds even in the works of the scientist the voice of a prophet. Swedenborg left Sweden for his first extensive study abroad in 1711. Miss Toksvig believes that Swedenborg's stay at this time in England and the Netherlands was particularly significant not only in Swedenborg's pursuit of scientific knowledge but in the emergence of the mystic much later.

Upon his return to Sweden, Swedenborg found employment as an engineer and mining expert with the Board of Mines. After thirty years of service, interrupted by leaves of absence for study, he retired in 1747. But, even before 1740, his interests seem to have turned more and more to religion and the spirit world. In judging the sanity or insanity of Swedenborg the mystic, Miss Toksvig turns to "scientists." She writes, however, that her intention is not "to explain in psychoanalytical terms *how* Swedenborg came to have those experiences which seemed to him to come from another world than this."

It seems very likely, according to Miss Toksvig, that his peculiar experiences were the results of yogic breathing; but the author is too sympathetic, too uncritical of a man who questioned his own sanity as long as he was capable of doing so. The revelations of Swedenborg, his interpretations of the Bible, and the spirit world too, testify to the great productiveness of the mystic, who walked and talked so much with the spirits that one is almost led to believe that the spirits also guided his pen, as indeed he claimed to be so on frequent occasions.

One of the most remarkable accounts of Swedenborg as a medium relates to a greeting to the queen of Sweden from her brother, Frederick the Great of Prussia.

The queen is supposed to have been shocked by the "secret" revealed through Swedenborg's greeting from the world of spirits. She might well have been for Frederick II was very active indeed in 1761! He did not die until 1786.

Swedenborg wrote his many works in Latin, and they were published outside of Sweden. He thought that he had found the key to an understanding of the Bible and the relationship of the body and the soul in this and the other world. He was not persecuted in Sweden, even though he placed Luther in an uncomfortable spot in heaven because of his stress upon faith. Swedenborg denied the vicarious atonement and the doctrine of trinity. He believed that heaven was a state created by its inhabitants. Prayers were to be accompanied by deeds. This type of religion, says Miss Toksvig, "was both Western and Christian."

On March 29, 1772, Swedenborg died in England; and in 1908 his body was brought back to Sweden. A historian's chief criticism of Miss Toksvig's biography must not be with such "minor" mistakes as the opening of the "Parliament" in Paris where it should read "Parlement" (p. 90), but rather with accepting sources without weighing them more carefully. She depends altogether too much upon *Documents Concerning the Life and Character of Emanuel Swedenborg*, edited by R. L. Tafel and published by the Swedenborg Society, and similar sources. The author has at least looked at some of the original manuscripts of Swedenborg, but there must have been other sources. The biography suffers also from too many quotations and too few footnotes, even when quotations are used.

The last chapter called "A Happy End" seems to be the product of a convert. A historian might well wonder why Miss Toksvig did not employ the same yardstick in measuring Emanuel Swedenborg that she did in measuring his father, the bishop Jesper Swedberg.

Augustana College

O. FRITIOF ANDER

MASTERWORKS OF HISTORY: DIGESTS OF ELEVEN GREAT CLASSICS. Edited by *Joseph Reither*. [Masterworks Series.] (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1948. Pp. ix, 693. \$5.00.)

THIS is one of a series which will make the classics available to the general reader; economics, philosophy, biography, science, government, religion, and travel are companion volumes. The editor's technique consists in telescoping the particular works he has chosen. He has preserved and connected the words of the original, or of some standard translation, in a manner that avoids jerkiness or even awareness of how much he has actually omitted. The reader familiar with a favorite author will immediately discern gaps, but obviously there was neither need nor space to reprint these items in their entirety. The purpose of the general editors—Alvin Johnson, Robert Millikan, and Alexander Witherspoon—is to transform "household words" into meaningful realities. In consequence the owner of the entire series can easily have the hundred best books on a one-foot shelf. Use

India paper and the whole matches the Bible in size; digest this into a pocket book and ———.

Notwithstanding the editors' laudable major purpose, a number of questions must be asked. Who is going to read these books? He who commutes may read, but does it matter? Whose "household words" in this year 1948 are the names of Herodotus, Thucydides, Caesar, Tacitus, Bede, Gibbon, Symonds, Macaulay, Carlyle, Bancroft, and the Beards, or their equivalents in economics, religion, and science? Moreover, if the purpose was educational, why these particular choices? Whose "classics" are these? Not one Russian, German, Italian, or Frenchman on the list. Why not Polybius in place of Caesar, Burckhardt instead of Symonds? Why Carlyle at all? Why five Englishmen? Is not Voltaire a "classic" and a household word—better known than Bede, more widely read than Carlyle? There are fashions in classics, and in individual and regional tastes as well. The ones exhibited here appear to be academic eastern seaboard fashion *circa* 1900.

These queries stem neither from the snobbery, which resents digests, nor the parochialism, which adheres rigidly to one set of "classics," but rather from perplexity as to the potential readers. The literate will prefer the complete works; the semiliterate will be enthusiastic—and soon pitch the book in the corner; the illiterate will do nothing. Presumably these volumes are for the "general reader," but does he exist? If he does, will he read this volume? Ideally, he has the opportunity to survey the field of Western history and historiography, to gain information, and to broaden and deepen his perspective and understanding. Practically, he's going to find a lot of these fellows on the dull side, discussing matters and speaking a language, which, for good or for ill, means nothing to him. That many readers for these volumes *do* exist is not denied, that more should be freely admitted; how many will read is quite another matter.

University of Missouri

CHARLES F. MULLETT

THE GATHERING STORM. By *Winston S. Churchill*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1948. Pp. xvi, 784. \$6.00.)

No man alive has more right to tell the world "I told you so," and no man alive uses the privilege with more gusto, than Winston Churchill. His account of the diplomatic crisis between the two World Wars, and of the first phase of the Second World War, ending with his own premiership, resembles the memoirs of David Lloyd George, the pilot who weathered the storm of the First World War, in its well-documented reiteration of his own previsions in contrast with the mistakes and blunders of others. Some readers find it hard to forgive any autobiographer for being so often right; do not good fellowship and modesty demand an occasional error? But it is much easier to forgive Churchill than Lloyd George, because Churchill writes with an apparently objective impersonality, like Julius Caesar, whereas Lloyd George wrote with his ego carried like a chip on the

shoulder, as did Napoleon. Moreover, Churchill writes better—indeed, as well as any man of action in any land in our whole generation.

It is a comprehensive indictment which Churchill presents, and unfortunately one which is almost impossible to confute:

We must regard as deeply blameworthy before history the conduct, not only of the British . . . Conservative Government, but of the Labour-Socialist and Liberal Parties, both in and out of office, during this fatal period. Delight in smooth-sounding platitudes, refusal to face unpleasant facts, desire for popularity and electoral success . . . genuine love of peace and pathetic belief that love can be its sole foundation, obvious lack of intellectual vigour . . . marked ignorance of Europe and aversion from its problems . . . all these constituted a picture of British fatuity and fecklessness which, though devoid of guile, was not devoid of guilt [p. 89].

As particular counts in this indictment, he instances: “the malignant and silly” economic clauses of the Treaty of Versailles (p. 7) which were fortunately never enforced, contrasted with the wise stipulations for German disarmament which were, most unfortunately, never enforced either, after Hitler came into power; the blundering attempts to force France to disarm to Germany’s level, which Churchill warned Parliament in 1932 would lead to war (p. 72); the timid half-measures taken against Italy in Ethiopia, “useless for the League and pernicious to Britain” (p. 167), and against Japan in Manchuria; the loss of supremacy in the air to Germany; the failure to support France when Germany rearmed the Rhineland, a failure for which Flandin felt such justifiable bitterness that Churchill was ready in after years to absolve him for his anti-British policy during the war (p. 198). Then followed Premier Baldwin’s weak cry that if he had told the electorate the truth about the armament race he might have lost an election (p. 216); the British refusal of President Roosevelt’s proffered support against Mussolini (pp. 250–55); the destruction of Austria and of Czechoslovakia; the failure to reach agreement with Russia against Hitler; the failure to forestall German action against Norway during the war (p. 580), and all the rest of that sad, familiar tale.

Churchill was not only on the spot with his warnings in all these matters, but on others too. He foresaw that Ireland might “declare neutrality if we are engaged in war” (p. 278); the prospect of a civil war between Hindu and Moslem in India, which led him to oppose the official plan for greater Indian home rule, and thus brought about his own long exile from office (p. 33); the Russo-German war (pp. 448–49); the technical possibilities of atomic power (pp. 386–87), of magnetic mines (p. 414), and of air raids on industrial centers. It is his considered opinion that the chief defense offered for the shameful peace of Munich (that thereby Britain gained a year for preparation and so escaped a defeat which would have been inevitable in 1938) is invalid, since Germany was arming more rapidly than Britain (pp. 336–37).

One delights also in Churchill’s estimates of men, nations, and governments.

For instance, there is the contrast between the "vague but none the less deep-seated intuition of Baldwin" and the "narrow, sharp-edged efficiency" of his successor Neville Chamberlain (p. 222). There is the delightful irony of his last meeting with Ribbentrop—"This was the last time I saw Herr von Ribbentrop before he was hanged" (p. 272). There is his characterization of Polish policy, and the paradox by which the Poles pay for their diplomatic follies with their military courage and "suffer with invincible fortitude all the agonies they perpetually draw upon themselves" (p. 323). A casual reference to the thousand letters and other communications that passed between him and President Roosevelt (p. 441) makes one eager to read the next volume of his history, in which America will doubtless figure much more largely.

Was even Churchill wise at all hours? One is tempted to believe it while under the spell of his book. But doubts soon crop out. What of his longings for a restoration of the old Austrian monarchy (p. 10)? Of his desire to have the Hohenzollerns back in Berlin (p. 11)? No doubt, Hitler was worse than any Hohenzollern, but the case of Mussolini shows us that dictatorships can grow up in a monarchy as well as in a republic. Indeed, the mention of Mussolini leads us to the thought that Churchill was not always so contemptuous of *Il Duce* as he is in the pages of this book. There is an eighteenth century strain in this very able, very modern man, after all; a hankering after the old fleshpots of monarchy and aristocracy. From the military point of view one can see the drawbacks he points out in granting independence to Ireland and to India, but what if Britain had been confronted, in the hour of her greatest agony, not with a neutral Ireland and India but with wholesale rebellion and revolution? Is a good-natured imperialism the very last word in human government? Perhaps there is a better case than Churchill imagines for the apparent ingratitude of the British people in turning from his leadership when they turned from war to peacetime reconstruction (p. 667), though if war should ever come again they could hardly do better than look for another such Greatheart.

University of Michigan

PRESTON SLOSSON

BERLIN REPARATIONS ASSIGNMENT: ROUND ONE OF THE GERMAN PEACE SETTLEMENT. By *B. U. Ratchford* and *William D. Ross*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1947. Pp. xii, 259. \$3.50.)

THIS is a detailed account, by two American economists who had an important role therein on the technical level, of the four-country negotiations on German reparations up to the eve of the unsuccessful London conference of 1947. Of the details of these negotiations, and the atmosphere in which they were conducted, it provides a reliable and valuable record not available elsewhere.

Given the failure of the negotiations, however, the major significance of the book is to be sought elsewhere. It incidentally provides saddening evidence that

American policy toward the economic future of Germany was inadequately prepared; that the contributions to it of the Treasury and the Foreign Economic Administration were such as to call for psychiatric investigation; that President Roosevelt made vital decisions off-the-cuff, without consultation of qualified personnel; and that the Department of State, caught unprepared or badly staffed or weak or outmaneuvered by other agencies, made no effective contribution to sanity and sobriety until Secretary Byrnes's Stuttgart speech of September 6, 1946. Although both the authors are economists, there is no evidence in this book that any of the major participants on the American side, the President, the generals, the lawyers, the businessmen, or even the few economists who were permitted to operate on the lower levels, ever thought it necessary to explore even on an elementary basis the economic and political consequences for Europe, for future generations of Germans, or for us, of the extremely low ceiling for the level of German industry which they were proposing.

The evidence presented confirms the general impression that beginning with the Potsdam Agreement the Russians were most concerned with what they could squeeze out of prostrate Germany in a hurry, that the French were most concerned with preventing the restoration of a strong Germany, that our policy was an unco-ordinated mixture of various objectives, with anxiety for an agreement on any terms most conspicuous, and that the British alone showed serious concern for the economic necessities and decencies. Our "statesmanship" was confined to mediating between British reasonableness and Russian rapacity.

On one major point the book unduly protects the American record from valid criticism. Russia emerges from the account as the obvious villain, vindictive, insatiable, and impervious to argument in insisting upon the execution to the letter—or beyond—of the Potsdam Agreement. It must not be forgotten, however, that the Potsdam Agreement, which is now commonly supposed to have been the consequence of undue American concessions to Russian rapacity, followed in large part the principles laid down in an earlier American document, Joint Chiefs of Staff Memorandum No. 1067 of April 26, 1945. In their sole reference to this document (pp. 40-41) the authors make clear that it was a forerunner of the Potsdam Agreement, but they fail to mention the fact that on the issue which is the major concern of their book, the level of industry to be permitted to Germany, JCS 1067 proposed even harsher terms than those laid down by the Potsdam Agreement. Until a surprisingly late stage of the proceedings, in fact, we were playing Russia's hand for her to a degree which provides a mystery future historians will have to try to resolve.

Princeton University

JACOB VINER

Ancient and Medieval History

INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE. By *George Sarton*. Volume III, SCIENCE AND LEARNING IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY. In two parts. (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins Company for Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1947. Pp. xxv, 1018; xi, 1019-2155. \$20.00.)

It must have been about twenty years ago that Dr. Sarton very generously permitted me, in planning and preparing the third and fourth volumes of *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, to make use of a first draft which he had already drawn up of the history of science in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. My two volumes appeared in 1934; Sarton waited to embody their new findings from manuscripts; war worry and delay in printing further postponed his publication, so that his long-expected third volume (the first appeared in 1927; the second, on the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in 1931) has only now at last issued from the press. Although it is limited to the fourteenth century, it fills two ponderous volumes and is on a much vaster scale than the early draft on the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This is partly due to the painstaking all-inclusiveness of the author, partly to the rapid advance of recent scholarship in the fields and period dealt with, which has necessitated not only the vast amplification of the early draft but addenda, made during "the long duration of printing," which occupy pages 1830-71.

The method and arrangement remain essentially the same as in the previous volumes: a chronological division by half centuries, a general introduction to each and then a more particular and advanced presentation, the inclusion of the whole world and of fields other than science in the narrow sense—such as religious background, philosophical and cultural background, historiography, law and sociology, philology. But this, at least, was a period when what might seem a purely theological work, such as a commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, might display a scientific interest and content. A minor departure—and one which I must deplore—is the splitting up of Western or Latin Christendom by modern nationalities such as Italy, France, Spain, England, and Germany. With this goes a gratuitous tendency to brand individuals as "Frenchmen" who might better be called Gascons or Bretons, and acceptance of the Italian nationalism which its modern enthusiasts have foisted upon Dante and Petrarch. No political, geographical, or racial divergences separated the astronomical accomplishment of John of Saxony and his master, John of Lignières in Picardy. It would seem better to have lumped all Latin writers together regardless of their geographical connections, and to have distinguished from them writers in the various western vernaculars. More acceptable new features of the third volume are the forty illustrations, and the Greek, Chinese, and Japanese indexes.

The outstanding and most admirable feature of the work is its very extensive

and well-selected, in fact one may say practically exhaustive, bibliographies, upon a critical digest of which the text proper is based. In doing this Dr. Sarton as a rule manifests sound judgment and well-taken historical criticism. About the only bibliographical additions that occur to me are for the Black Death: Guido Guerini, "Notizie storiche e statistiche sulla Peste," *Rivista di storia delle scienze mediche e naturali*, XVI (1925), 293-316; Marcellin Boudet and Roger Grand, "Etude historique sur les épidémies de peste en Haute-Auvergne" (Paris, 1902), Extrait de la *Revue de la Haute-Auvergne*, 135 pp.; and P. Gras, "Le registre paroissial de Givry," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, C (1939), 295-308. But Sarton could hardly be expected to include local studies such as the two last, illuminating as they are. The following works on artillery were perhaps purposely omitted: Paul Azen, *Les premières mitrailleuses, 1342-1725* (1907), 63 pp.; E. Bravetta, *L'artiglieria e le sue meraviglie dalle origini fino al nostri giorni* (1919), 577 pp.; W. Erben, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Geschützwesens im Mittelalters* (1903); J. Garnier, *L'artillerie des ducs de Bourgogne* (1865).

Even to one who is acquainted with the first draft and who has written books and many articles on the period and taught a course on its intellectual history for the past twenty-four years, there is much that is fresh, unfamiliar, or forgotten in these pages: the Vijayanagar empire, the Malay empire of the Majapahits, "the death of many Tatars in Spain" (? p. 932), Nicholas of Lynn on centers of gravity, the commentary of Urbanus Averroista on the *Physics*, and not a few of the specific dated allusions to such inventions as mechanical clocks, firearms, and printing in China. There are interesting general conclusions such as the decrease in the second half of the century of the number of scientific writers in learned languages such as Latin, Arabic, Greek, and Chinese, while there is a slight increase in Hebrew, from 59 to 63, and in the western vernaculars (large for French, 22 to 51). Translations into Hebrew were on the whole the most numerous, but there were translations from more other tongues into Latin and from Latin into more other tongues than in the case of any other medium. Contrary to the Renaissance hypothesis are the conclusions that Giovanni Villani (to 1346) was a better historian than his brother Matteo (to 1363) or his nephew Filippo, who died in 1405, and that Gino Capponi, who died in 1420, surpassed his son Neri who continued his Chronicle to 1456. Sarton further regards Poggio's Latin History of Florence to 1455 "as a definite retrogression."

Considering the size and scope of the work, there appear to be very few things that call for correction.

Once in a while misstatements creep into the text, apparently because the author has relied on the studies of others and not seen the work in question himself. At page 1241 Sarton says that the *De reductione medicamentorum ad actum* of Tommaso del Garbo "was probably . . . the most interesting treatise" (in pharmacy) written in the West, while at page 1673 he adds, "Two other brief works . . . *De restauratione humidi radicalis* and *De reductione medicamentorum*

ad actum, deal with the ways in which medicines should be made, the proper proportions, etc." Actually these opuscula of four and three and a half pages respectively are purely scholastic and argumentative, not pharmaceutical. The former deals with *actus* and *potentia*, forms and qualities, and is in large part devoted to rehearsal and rebuttal of the opinion of Gentile da Foligno. The latter deals with a favorite physiological topic of that time, already treated in Arnald of Villanova's *De humido radicali*. Petrarch's *De republica optime administranda* is not "on the best form of government," (p. 511) but on how to run a state well—good administration. The assertion at pages 326 and 525 that *Monti di Pietà* originated only in the second half of the fifteenth century is negated by discussion of them in the *Summa* of Antonino of Florence (1389-1459). Also a *Defensorium montis pietatis* had been composed by Lorenzo Ridolfi, who wrote on usury in 1403 and was Florentine ambassador 1414-1425. Buridan and Oresme had forerunners of their views on money. From the account of Petrarch's *De remediis utriusque fortunae* at pages 506-507 one would never guess that it is a childish sort of conversation book, perhaps intended for elementary instruction in Latin, in which one of the two interlocutors confines himself to such repetitious remarks as the following:

I have attained wisdom.
 Wise I am.
 I profess myself a sage.
 I am wise.
 I came to wisdom through study.
 From heaven I received perfect wisdom.
 Wisdom I grasped with avid mind.
 I am called wise.
 I am called wise by the people.

And so on *ad nauseam*.

Petrarch's ascent of Mt. Ventoux is still called "almost unique in medieval times" (p. 510), although Gertrud Stockmayer in 1910 noted various ascents and descriptions of mountains in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The purity and peculiar odor of mountain air is remarked in the *Lumen animae* addressed to John XXII (1316-1334). Speaking of John XXII, the affirmation at page 44 that he condemned alchemy "implacably" is not borne out by the fuller account at page 167 which recognizes that his decretal "was directed not against legitimate alchemy."

Sometimes, on the other hand, the text does not quite keep pace with the bibliography. At page 477 clerical schools are emphasized and nothing is said of lay masters, although my article is cited on "Elementary and Secondary Education in the Middle Ages." The *Excursions historiques* of Charles Jourdain is cited a number of times, but at page 44 it is said anent the recommendation of teaching Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic by the Council of Vienne in 1311, "little came out of that," and at page 375, "In order to implement the wishes of that council, Clement V ordered in 1312 the organization of the teaching of Arabic (as well as Hebrew,

Chaldaean"—i.e., Aramaic—"and Greek") in five universities, Rome, Paris, Oxford, Bologna, Salamanca. Professors were actually appointed in Rome, but otherwise the order remained a dead letter." Both statements overlook the evidence supplied by Charles Jourdain for such teaching at Paris in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as well as the fact that the University of the Roman Curia, to which the decree applied, was then at Avignon, not Rome. (See Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, new edition of 1936, II, 30.) "Even Homer nods!" It is puzzling why there is no separate treatment of the alchemist, Bernard of Treves, and the content of his reply to Thomas of Bologna.

One or two misspellings may be corrected. At page 565 *insolubilis* should be *insolubilibus*. On page 662 the title, *De mortibus planetarum* should read *De motibus planetarum*. At page 1482 and in the index Sommeria should be Sommaria. At page 1597 "R. Biblioteca Medicea Lorenziana," should be "R. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana." It would seem that, if we have Petrarca instead of Petrarch, and Pietro of Abano for Peter of Abano (p. 519), the spelling Alessandria rather than Alexandria should be used for the town in Piedmont or northwestern Italy. The form, "Ptolemy of Lucques," employed in the text of this as of the second volume, is fortunately now amended in the index to "Ptolemy of Lucca."

Incidentally, "apud montem Phesulanum" at page 638 surely designates Montpellier, not Fiesole. Although the identification of Balinas or Balinus with Apollonius of Tyana at page 759, note 9, goes back to Steinschneider and Berthelot, I remain unconvinced, since he is identified in his own supposed works with Apollo: "Dixit Balemiz qui Apollo dicitur . . ." etc. It would be silly or superfluous to say that Apollonius (of Tyana) was called Apollo, and anyone who could spell the god's name correctly would not corrupt Apollonius into Balinus. The catalogue of the Royal Manuscripts in the British Museum remarks anent MS. 12. C. XVIII (from which I have just quoted) that the author is "apparently . . . Jirgis ibn al-'Amid."

A great improvement in the index of the third volume is that it covers the bibliographical references to writers on the fourteenth century since, as well as to those who lived in it. One could wish that the twenty-two lines of page references to Aristotle might have been distributed among his various works. Manuscript material is given so much more attention than in preceding volumes, and even a number of particular MSS. named, that they might well have been included in the general index or possibly have been grouped in a brief separate index of MSS.

This is a great work of reference, Knowledge's

... ample page

Rich with the spoils of time ...

It is the fullest and the broadest, the most up-to-date and scholarly, treatment of the fourteenth century which has ever been produced in any language. The question remains whether its wealth of detail and somewhat fulsome method of presentation should not have been sacrificed to produce a handier work, in

which one would not need to keep turning from one bulky volume to the other for general bibliography, addenda, indexes, etc. The author hates to omit anything that interests him and he is interested in almost everything. There are numerous footnotes, personal asides and prolegomena, and digressions back to the thirteenth or forward to the fifteenth century. Titles of editions are sometimes given both in the text and the bibliographies. If, as is stated at page 8, "the reader wishing to have a general view of science and learning in the fourteenth century need read only chapters I and XV" (which cover some 671 pages or roughly one third of the whole), why were not these chapters issued in a separate volume for his benefit? The answer is that they as well as the twenty-six more specialized chapters with bibliographies which follow them are essential for the scholar as well as the general reader because, while "each scientist . . . must be placed, sometimes a little arbitrarily, in a definite chapter, his activities in other fields must be recalled" in these long introductory chapters. And, as a matter of fact, some things are treated in the introductory chapters which are not mentioned again in the subsequent chapters, for example, the action of the Council of Vienne as to oriental languages to which we have referred, or the excellent accounts of treatises on colors, manufacture and use of glass, and manufacture and use of paper at pages 168-70, 170-73, and 174-77 (the last passage is not indexed under "Paper"). On the other hand, a topic such as gauging is discussed in three different places, to which one must turn back and forth.

Various minor points and problems in the history of science have been suggested by the perusal of this volume, but discussion of them must be deferred to another place. May George Sarton, confirmed and expert medievalist that he now is, live to complete the fourth volume or volumes upon the fifteenth century!

Columbia University

LYNN THORNDIKE

GERBERT: HUMANISME ET CHRÉTIENTÉ AU X^e SIÈCLE. By Le Chanoine *Jean Leflon*, Professeur à l'Institut Catholique de Paris. (Abbaye Saint Wandrille, Normandy: Éditions de Fontenelle. 1946. Pp. xxvii, 392.)

THIS book, and the collection "Figures Monastiques" of which it is a part, is evidence that scholarly works dealing with past centuries had a good chance for publication in occupied and war-torn France, even in Normandy itself. The collection is published by the Benedictines of the abbey of Saint Wandrille, that ancient, illustrious, and charming monastery on the winding Seine west of Rouen, reoccupied since 1931 by Benedictine monks who appear to be reviving learning in the venerable abbey under conditions of strife, uncertainty, and shortages not too dissimilar to those Gerbert coped with in the disrupting times of the tenth century. Five volumes have appeared in their series: *Jean Cassien* by Le Chanoine Léon Cristiani; *Saint Columban* by Dom Jean Laporte, monk of Saint Wandrille; *Pierre le Venerable* by Jean Leclercq, monk of Clervaux; *Dom Martène* by Joseph

Daoust, and the present book on *Gerbert* by Jean Leflon. It is appropriate that the intellectual revival at Saint Wandrille should sponsor a study of Gerbert, for one of its most illustrious reforming abbots, Saint Gerard (1008–1031) received his inspiration from the school of Gerbert at Reims.

Professor Leflon, too, has accomplished a surprising amount of first-rate research and publication considering the unsettled times in which he has worked. Having brought out three volumes on *Etienne-Alexandre Bernier, Évêque d'Orléans* in 1938, a work honored by the Académie Française and awarded the Grand Prix Gobert, he published in 1942 the *Histoire de l'Église de Reims du I^{er} au V^e siècle* (Reims, 1942). This basic study was similarly honored during the war by the Académie Française. While the fate of the world was being decided in Normandy after D Day, Professor Leflon was steeping himself in *Monsieur Émery, l'Église d'Ancien Régime et la Révolution* (Paris, 1945) and preparing himself to write the present volume on Gerbert and the tenth century which was completed with the imprimatur in October of 1945.

This is perhaps the first book on Gerbert avowedly written for the general public. Its style is vivid and colorful, yet it sacrifices nothing in scholarship or dignity. It treats the life of Gerbert chronologically from his youthful days at Aurillac to his acts as Pope Sylvester II. Leflon's primary importance to the scholar is the fact that he co-ordinates the miscellaneous and often contradictory writings upon all phases of Gerbert's life and work. He leans upon seven recent French publications on different phases of Gerbert's activities, only three of which were available to the reviewer when he wrote "Gerbert, the Teacher" (*American Historical Review*, LII [April, 1947], 456–76). Leflon makes extensive use of Emile Lesne's important and erudite fifth volume of his *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France*, entitled *Les écoles de la fin du VIII^e siècle à la fin du XI^e* (Lille, 1940), where the school world of the tenth century is admirably reconstructed as a background to Gerbert's scientific and pedagogic methods. Neither Lesne, nor Leflon's *Gerbert* for that matter, were included in S. Harrison Thomson's list of "Continental Publications on the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, 1940–1946," in *Progress of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, No. 19 (September, 1947).

The author makes admirable use of Gerbert's letters and Richer's *Historia*, the two basic sources for all Gerbert studies. He quotes from 121 of the 220 letters ascribed to Gerbert by Julien Havet, giving many of them in full. His French translation of Gerbert is in the main excellent and close to the original, far superior to the translation of Edouard de Barthélemy (Paris, 1868). One could wish that Leflon might undertake a more basic attempt to attract the general reader to Gerbert by editing and translating into French all of Gerbert's writings in such a modern series as *Les classiques de l'histoire de France au Moyen Age*, where Robert Latouche has done such an acceptable edition of Richer. Incidentally, whenever Leflon quotes Richer he uses the translation of Latouche literally. One could

wish again that such a good Latinist had made independent translations of Richer in certain mooted and obscure passages.

Leflon has added very little to what has already been written concerning Gerbert, but Gerbert scholars will be grateful for this co-ordination of past writings and opinions, as well as for the charming manner in which Gerbert's lively story is presented. A few careless errors in dates and editions mar the bibliography and it is sometimes exasperating to run into inexact citations in the footnotes. These, however, are minor criticisms of a good book.

Hofstra College

OSCAR G. DARLINGTON

LA PROVINCE DE DACIE DE L'ORDRE DES FRÈRES PRÊCHEURS. I, HISTOIRE GÉNÉRALE JUSQU'AU GRAND SCHISME. By *Jarl Gallén*. [Institutum Historicum ff. Praedicatorum Romae ad S. Sabinae, Dissertationes Historicae, Fasciculus XII.] (Helsingfors: Söderström & C:o. 1946. Pp. xxxii, 288.)

As the title indicates, the book covers the general history of the Dominicans in northern Europe from the early thirteenth century to the Great Schism. The Dominican province of Dacia was established in 1228 and eventually included Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and the Baltic coast lands from Denmark to Finland. A projected second volume will carry the story from the Great Schism to the dissolution of the province in the Lutheran revolt, and will also deal with social and religious life in greater detail.

The introduction contains a good critical evaluation of earlier studies—they are inadequate in many important respects—but is primarily concerned with the problem of sources. Catholic buildings were destroyed or confiscated throughout the North in the sixteenth century, the Catholic religion was vigorously suppressed, and Catholic Church records of all kinds were either destroyed or neglected. Hence extant archival material for the history of the church in northern Europe, especially in Sweden, during the late Middle Ages, is very scanty. The author, however, was able to unearth much new material in the Vatican archives especially. The utilization of this material adds very much to the importance of the present book.

The main exposition is divided into three parts: I. Fondation et premier développement (1219-1261); II. Épanouissement (1261-1315/20); III. Exubérance et déclin (1315/20-1378). There are three excursuses, the most interesting of which deals thoroughly with the controversial question of St. Dominic's journeys to Denmark. The book is furnished with elaborate prosopographical indexes, three maps, ten genealogical tables, and an exceptionally valuable bibliography.

Gallén is obviously an enthusiastic admirer of the work of the Dominicans in the North, but, as we should expect in the case of a well-trained Finnish scholar, he is critical and objective in the treatment of his material. His handling of the causes of the decline of the province of Dacia is particularly good.

Two criticisms of a general nature may be made. In the first place, scantiness of source material has led Gallén to indulge a little too much in conjecture and historical reconstruction, although he never fails to warn the reader in each instance. In the second place, one could wish that he had given more space and emphasis to the work of other religious orders and of the secular clergy in the North during the period covered. Significant as the achievement of the Dominicans was, it was only one phase of the work of the church in the North, and the Dominican achievement itself must be evaluated ultimately on this broader basis.

Catholic University of America

MARTIN R. P. McGUIRE

THE ENGLISH CLERGY AND THEIR ORGANIZATION IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES. By *A. Hamilton Thompson*, Sometime Professor of History, University of Leeds, Honorary Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. [The Ford Lectures for 1933.] (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press. 1947. Pp. xv, 327. \$5.50.)

Dr. Hamilton Thompson devotes his first lecture to the episcopate, his second to the closely related topic of diocesan organization and administration. His discussion of the relation of the English episcopate to the crown and to the papacy is particularly valuable. A statement in the second lecture, "The whole character of the business thus carried on is somewhat formal and mechanical," is probably accurate—after all, he is dealing with the mechanics of diocesan administration—but of far greater significance are the closing words, "... the post Reformation church continued its administrative course in the well-worn grooves marked out for it on these lines." The lecture on cathedral and collegiate churches and chapters treats of the class of clergy from whom the rulers of the church were chosen, who were for the most part better lawyers than theologians and whose activities, apart from their maintenance of a continual succession of services, were largely matters of financial and legal business. There was a clear line drawn between these "*sublimes* and *litterati*, men of birth and lettered clerks," and the parsons, vicars, and curates who form the subject of the fourth lecture. Pluralism, nonresidence, appropriations, and parochial administration are here in turn discussed, with a few paragraphs about the fabric of the parish church.

The author leaves the main highway of medieval church history in the lecture on chantries and colleges of chantry-priests. He points out the close relation between the growth of the chantry system and the growth of the middle class, explains the main types of chantry college, discusses their statutes, and gives much information on stipendiary chaplains and chantrists proper. Especially noteworthy is his consideration of the contribution of the chantry system to later medieval learning, including the statement that "the early colleges of Oxford and Cambridge . . . cannot be dissociated from chantry foundations." In the last lecture, on the monasteries, Dr. Thompson returns to a familiar and well-beaten path.

In sum, this volume, which shows evidence of revision in the years since the lectures were delivered, is a work of sound learning and sound common sense. Its limitations are the inevitable consequence of the restrictions of time and space. When an author has given us so much, it were ungracious to find fault because he has not given us more. Over a hundred pages of appendixes—for the most part, *pièces justificatives*—add markedly to its value.

Washington and Jefferson College

ALFRED H. SWEET

CHAUCER'S WORLD. Compiled by *Edith Rickert*. Edited by *Clair C. Olson* and *Martin M. Crow*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1948. Pp. xxi, 456. \$6.75.)

THIS book is another illustration of the richly varied interests of Edith Rickert, a task left uncompleted on her death in 1938. In the final arrangement and selection of materials it represents the work of Drs. Olson and Crow, former pupils of Miss Rickert and Professor Manly. The pictorial illustrations, from contemporary manuscripts, were chosen by Margaret Rickert, who was familiar with her sister's project, the plan, and the materials. To those who knew Edith Rickert, her sister's memoir (pp. vi-ix) is a beautiful and fitting tribute. Here is a woman whose activities ranged from author of children's stories to the most laborious and exacting details of medieval scholarship. The book is a by-product of her collaboration with Professor Manly on *The Text of the Canterbury Tales* (8 vols., 1940) and of her documentary research for data for the revision of *Chaucer Life Records*, the material for which "still lies in the files of the University of Chicago library awaiting an editor and publication."

Among many analogous predecessors of the past seventy or eighty years this volume is distinctive. It is limited to Chaucer's period and centers upon details of the life with which he was familiar. Specifically, "many of the selections deal with people, places, or events that Chaucer himself knew or knew of." About eighty per cent of the selections from manuscripts had not been previously published. Miss Rickert through a period of fourteen years sifted these selections from documents in the Public Record Office and in other London sources.

The materials as finally organized by the editors include the following sections: London Life, The Home, Training and Education, Careers, Entertainment, Travel, War, The Rich and the Poor, Religion, Death and Burial. The most valuable, interesting, and authentic documents for the details of the daily life of Chaucer's world are the "Original Letter Books" (books of municipalities containing varied daily matters), "Husting Rolls" (recording wills and deeds of London freemen), and "Plea or Memoranda Rolls" ("believed to be informal records of cases in the mayor's court"). From these sources come highly individualized bits. Space permits listing only a few samples from one category: practice of justice that fitted

the punishment to the crime: the charcoal seller accused of selling short-weight sacks, put in the pillory with the sacks burned beneath him; the vendor of rotten, stinking fish, confined in a pillory for an hour with the fish burned under him; John Penrose, convicted of selling unsound wine, forced to drink part and to have the remainder poured on his head; a magician placed in a pillory with the instruments and devices he used hung around his neck. Books of instructions by doctors (e.g., John of Arderne), records of merchants (e.g., Gilbert Maghfeld, money lender, to whom Chaucer, among others, turned), regulations for gildsmen, treatises on gardening, lists of home remedies, and courtesy books (e.g., *Babees Book*) are in a class of original sources analogous with those above. Of lesser value are semiliterary or literary documents: e.g., *The Book of the Knight la Tour Landry*, *Le Menagier de Paris*, Lydgate's *London Lickpenny*, and Gower's *Mirour de L'omme*.

To suggest items not mentioned above, the following hurried and incomplete epitome is given: traffic regulations, with punishment for violation of speed laws; fire regulations and smoke nuisance; prices of food; St. Paul's as a center for buying and selling; contractor's plans for the details of a house; inventory of the contents of a home; how to serve a meal; education, from early childhood through final preparation for professional careers; entertainment, in its ranges from the tournament, to horse-racing, football playing, cock-fighting, gambling, minstrelsy, and tavern brawls; a glimpse at the churchmen, secular and religious, through records concerning penances, funeral rites, and chantries. All are easy to follow, for all the selections in *Chaucer's World* are translated or modernized. Here is "God's plenty" for the research student in history and social studies and in literature who is seeking a convenient *vade mecum*, for the alert undergraduate, or for the curious and interested general reader.

The volume supports *in extenso* the judgment of John L. Lowes (*Geoffrey Chaucer and the Development of His Genius*, pp. 68-69): "The immortal figures of the *Prologue* and the *Tales* have their ancestry on the one side in the Customs and the missions and the Clerkship of the Works . . . and even in the survey of sewers, walls, and ditches along the Thames. Their roots are deep in the life which their creator lived." Also, in this volume Miss Rickert is pretty surely making a conscious *apologia* for J. M. Manly's "collection of suggestions" in *Some New Light on Chaucer*. And it is an effective refutation of G. R. Owst's indictment in his great but myopic book, *Literature and the Pulpit in Medieval England* (p. 230): "Professor Manly, we think, would hardly have ventured so rashly to suggest that Chaucer's Canterbury Pilgrims represent particular individuals of the poet's acquaintance, had he realized how thoroughly representative and even commonplace many of them are in a contemporary literature [sermon collections] which has been wholly neglected. The truth of the matter is that scholars for so long have been poking their noses into every conceivable foreign source-book and every kind of domestic record in their endeavour to throw fresh light upon the poet

that they have entirely overlooked this modest field of the sermons which lies as it were at their very feet."

University of North Carolina

GEORGE R. COFFMAN

Modern European History

THE ORIGINS OF MODERN GERMANY. By *G. Barraclough*, Professor in the University of Liverpool; Sometime Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, and of St. John's College, Cambridge. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell; New York: Macmillan Company. 1947. Pp. xi, 481. \$6.00.)

THIS book was written during the war as a contribution to our understanding of the "German problem" and as a kind of protest against the frequent practice of regarding German history as beginning in the eighteenth century. Professor Barraclough believes that only reflection upon the remote past will throw light upon the incompleteness and retardation of German development; that the roots of current problems are to be sought in such things as the failure to consolidate the German monarchy in the eleventh century, the disintegration of national unity after 1250, the withering of representative estates after the Reformation and the decay of the middle classes after the Thirty Years' War. In this belief he has written a clear but detailed survey, two thirds of which is devoted to the period before 1519 and only fifty pages to the period after 1815.

Professor Barraclough's main theme is the atomization of Germany as a result of the development of princely particularism, and this he traces systematically from the investiture struggle to the consolidation of petty absolutism after 1648. The aggrandizement of the princes at the expense of effective monarchy was, in his opinion, aided at all critical points in German development by the intervention of foreign powers, and the author's treatment of foreign affairs is perhaps the most notable feature of his book. He has been successful also, however, in overcoming the problem posed by the fact that German history has no essential unity after 1356, and his account of the relations between the princes and the estates and the eventual decline of the latter is a brilliant piece of synthesis.

To the author, the German problem of modern times was clearly posed as early as 1648. By that date, Germany was sunk in a particularism which was to retard national unity until 1871 and was, even after that time, to exercise disturbing effects in Germany's political life. By that date also, insuperable barriers had been placed in the way of peaceful evolution into democratic forms capable of expressing the will of the German people, and the alliance of reaction and privilege had become strong enough to stifle popular movements for liberty. The settlements of 1871 and 1918, each in its own way, attempted unsuccessfully to resolve the frustrations of the past; but "the unsolved problems of unity and democracy [remain] the substantial legacy of Germany's past to Germany's present."

Neither the author's method of organization nor his conclusions will receive the unanimous approval of scholars. Students of the Reformation will doubtless be surprised to find so few pages devoted to the period 1519-1618, although they will probably find Professor Barraclough's treatment of the effect of Lutheranism on the political and social attitudes of the middle class provocative despite its brevity. Those who agree with Srbik's view that the continuing problem in German history lies in the "*Nebeneinander, Nacheinander und Gegeneinander des universalen, des mitteleuropäischen und des nationalstaatlichen Momentes*" will object to the author's assertion that "the empire was a meaningless historical survival" after 1648 and will find the chapter on the nineteenth century excessively "*kleindeutsch*." Specialists in the Weimar period may feel that, in his account of the Republic, Professor Barraclough loses the objectivity which characterizes the earlier chapters and adopts what may be called a rigid Independent Socialist point of view. These criticisms notwithstanding, the book as a whole is a masterly simplification of the tangled and contradictory course of German history.

Princeton University

GORDON A. CRAIG

UNKNOWN GERMANY: AN INNER CHRONICLE OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR BASED ON LETTERS AND DIARIES. By *Hanna Hafkesbrink*. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1948. Pp. x, 164. \$2.50.)

DR. Hafkesbrink has written a remarkable and scholarly monograph which throws new light on the German war experience of 1914-1918 by an objective analysis of the letters and diaries of German soldiers as well as of autobiographies and the writings of Mann, Zweig, Dehmel, Toller, Rilke, Binding, Buckmayer, George, Jünger, Remarque, and others.

The book is divided into six parts, entitled: Prophets of Doom, Enthusiastic Welcoming of War, Disillusioning Encounter with War, Quest for the Meaning of War, Human Identification with the Enemy, and Hopes for the Future. The author seeks with scholarly objectivity to find the better qualities of the German people, the reasons for the decline of their spiritual substance, and the growth of eclectic materialism. Moreover, Dr. Hafkesbrink makes a definite historical contribution by showing how a group of creative writers rather than the leading statesmen and politicians preformulated the categories with which the returning veterans and the exhausted civilians were destined after the armistice of 1918 to interpret the Allied verdict of aggression and failure at the end of four years of suffering and idealism.

No one among the prophets of doom in prewar Germany had clearer visions of the approaching cataclysm than Lamprecht, Spengler, and Luxemburg, yet the author does not quote their apprehensions.

The national enthusiasm of August 1, 1914, was due not only to the obedience of the "uncritical average citizen" to the moral authority which the empire assumed

in the hour of threatening danger of war but also to his belief that the empire was being attacked by envious enemies. The war poem of the Rhenish blacksmith Heinrich Lersch is perhaps the most moving and the most impressive one in the war literature of 1914-1915 (pp. 81-82). "The common denominator of almost all the autobiographical accounts of the war enthusiasm of 1914," states the author, "is their ecstatic expression of happiness over the sudden and unexpected experience of national solidarity." In the disillusioning encounter with war the German, foremost among Continental peoples in technical discoveries, became bitterly disappointed over the mechanization of modern warfare—elementary though that was in World War I—and the triumph of the machine over all knightly qualities of man. It is significant that the author quotes primarily those who expected victory and none who mentions the tightening blockade, American intervention, and the Russian Revolution. Vain was the hope in 1914 of the historical repetition of the rising of 1813 with its early victory, and vain was later the hope in 1939 for a repetition of the enthusiasm of 1914.

Dr. Hafkesbrink is of the opinion that the humane identification with the enemy found its most spontaneous expression in the soldiers' attitude toward the civil victims (p. 114), and that the excesses of World War I remained isolated instances. An error in the first English translation of Binding's war diary is unfortunately repeated (p. 151). While life on the wall of iron and fire did not encourage dreams of a world undivided by hatred, the author has quoted from the letters of many front-line fighters to show that war had become for thousands the symbol of all evil.

This is a well-written book which presents the spiritual vitality and constructive powers of important groups of Germans. Dr. Hafkesbrink's principal conclusions are, moreover, confirmed by Friedrich Meinecke in *Die deutsche Katastrophe*.

Stanford University

RALPH HASWELL LUTZ

WAHN UND WIRKLICHKEIT: DIE AUSSENPOLITIK DES DRITTEN REICHES. VERSUCH EINER DARSTELLUNG. By *Erich Kordt*. In collaboration with *Karl Heinz Abshagen*. (Stuttgart: Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft. 1947. Pp. 419.)

THIS volume represents, to my knowledge, the first German foreign political survey covering the years 1933 to 1945. As a factual account it is, and probably will remain, indispensable to any study concerned with world events between 1933 and 1941. For the author (a member of the former German Foreign Office since 1928), while an assistant to von Ribbentrop, also was one of the key figures in the Wilhelmstrasse opposition. He was a participant in Nazi foreign affairs, but he was also their critic. And he actively attempted to prevent the outbreak of World War II.

Professor Harold C. Deutsch, who interrogated Erich Kordt for several weeks

in Washington, D. C., in 1945, kindly supplied the following additional information: "Kordt's association with Ribbentrop was most painful to him, both because of his extreme antipathy for him personally and because he hardly relished the role that had been assigned to him by von Buelow, that of keeping an eye on Ribbentrop for the opposition and of doing nothing to prevent him making a fool of himself. . . . Kordt's sources of information were of the best. He was close to both Buelow and Weizsaecker [the two secretaries of state under the Nazi regime] and a very intimate friend of Hitler's famous interpreter, Paul Schmidt, who was in the habit of dictating the summaries of Hitler conferences with foreigners in Kordt's presence. . . ."

The main service which Kordt renders is twofold. He exposes trends which have not yet been sufficiently taken into account in non-German literature. He also supplements known facts with minute details, so vitally necessary in the analysis of foreign affairs determined by moods, expediency, and sudden opportunities.

Thus one cannot fail to read with considerable interest the account of disagreements between Hitler and Mussolini which lasted well into 1941. Much publicized affairs, such as Hitler's state visit to Rome, appear as part of a series of intrigues and frustrations veiled by pomp and communiqués. Equally valuable is the account of the Hitler-Franco relations which lends strength to the opinion of those who believe, as this writer does, that Franco was neither pro-Nazi nor anti-Allies, but pro-Spain. As for the German-Japanese relations, Tokyo's offers (in 1942 and 1943) to mediate between the Reich and Soviet Russia are of paramount interest. The idea of Tojo's visiting Berlin was contemplated by the Far Eastern Axis allies.

Kordt's specific contributions to our knowledge of German foreign relations are too manifold even to be suggested here. However, the breathless account of the days just prior to the outbreak of the war stands out. So do the palace intrigues in Berlin on the eve of the Munich conference, which was perhaps saved through Goering's plotting against Ribbentrop. Kordt also has a great deal of additional information to give on the relations with the southeastern (the creation of the Slovakian protectorate, for instance), as well as with the western, countries.

The question of Mr. Kordt's reliability must of course be raised. As far as the more technical aspects are concerned, a few incorrect dates are to be found and the added chronology is quite inadequate. There are also a few omissions of fact, none of these of vital importance however. And, as Mr. Abshagen points out in his introductory remarks, the lack of reference material was omnipresent.

In regard to major textual aspects, the volume has one particular shortcoming: Kordt's estimates of a few of his former colleagues (*e.g.*, Gauss, Weizsaecker) appear to rest on personal bias. Yet such agreement as that between Mr. Kordt and Mr. Welles in their reports on the fatal Ribbentrop-Bonnet discussion in December, 1938, is striking. So is the consensus between Kordt and Prince Konoye (in his memoirs) on the events following Matsuoka's return from Berlin to Tokyo.

There is further cause, in a completely different sense, to be convinced of the author's integrity. Repeatedly he raises the reader's admiration by his unmitigated strength of conviction and his frank criticism. He states plainly that this book was written in order to avoid the creation of another *Dolchstoßlegende*: "From 1933 on, German policies were based on a derangement of the most important moral concepts. . . . It would be useless and dangerous to try to represent the German people as the innocent offering of these errors."

But whatever the German guilt, Kordt argues, as does Karl Jaspers, there have also been "accessory" factors to the German catastrophe. For instance, he points out, the German-British Naval Agreement sanctioned, in effect, the Rhineland occupation which had occurred two months previously (Winston Churchill makes the same point in his most recent volume). Or, he asks, why did the Allies demand "unconditional surrender"? The formula only gave a weapon of great propaganda value to the Hitler regime (the Goebbels diaries confirm this) and prolonged the agony.

Kordt's voice appeals as one of balanced reasoning and of promise. One therefore wishes that he would write another volume and that this volume would have the following elements: more (and annotated) facts; a clear differentiation between personal experiences and those of others (some of the experiences in this volume were accredited to others while, actually, they were Kordt's own); and, above all, a detailed outline of his approach to Germany's present-day problems. For it is with men of his stature that one begins to hope again for a new and creative German future.

San Gabriel, California

PAUL F. HULDERMANN

DIE DEUTSCHE KATASTROPHE: BETRACHTUNGEN UND ERINNERUNGEN. By *Friedrich Meinecke*. (Wiesbaden: Eberhard Brackhaus Verlag. 1946. Pp. 177. Mil. Gov. License No. US-W-2012.)

This book, the mature reflections and observations of a historian who has pursued assiduously and with rare penetration the study of the inner conflicts of German and Western civilization provides an answer to how Germany "got that way." Its appearance in two editions in the first year indicates an attempt by the German scholarly world to reach an accounting with itself.

Meinecke does not pretend that a work written in 1946 can be definitive. Nevertheless, aside from the objective contents, he felt that a work done immediately after the catastrophe would constitute in itself a source, in that it embodied the contemporary atmosphere which often cannot be recaptured from ordinary sources. He recognized, too, that his own observations derived from extensive contacts with such notables of the Weimar Republic as Reichs Chancellor Brüning, Reichswehr Minister Groener, and with some of the anti-Hitler military con-

spirators, like General Beck, who were active in the abortive Putsch of July, 1944, demanded recording.

A listing of the topics in the book gives a clue to the scope of the subjects considered: (1) the two "waves" of the age [nationalism and socialism]; (2) the German people before and after the establishment of the empire [Bismarckian]; (3) the German people in World War I; (4) the first postwar events; (5) *homo sapiens* and *homo faber*; (6) militarism and Hitlerism; (7) Machiavellianism of the masses; (8) chance (*Zufall*) and the universal; (9) the positive content of Hitlerism; (10) Hitlerism and Bolshevism; (11) Hitlerism and Christianity; (12) Hitlerism and the Western Powers; (13) has Hitlerism a future? (14) the background of July 20, 1944 [date of the attempted assassination of Hitler]; (15) paths toward recovery.

In a review one can note only some of the forces and factors which Meinecke sifted out as fundamental to the rise of National Socialism. The baldness of a brief statement, through the omission of accompanying elucidations and qualifications, however, often will do an injustice to the author. The emergence of nationalism (which Meinecke generally associated with the middle class) and socialism, the two dominant "waves" of the nineteenth century, produced many of the conflicts and situations which ultimately fostered the cause of Hitler. The latter, sensing the need, as well as recognizing the potentialities, of a synthesis of the two, exploited the situation to realize his own strivings for power. In the process a host of Western ideals, not only liberal and humanitarian but also Christian, were overshadowed or discarded. The individual soul lost its dignity and worth to the whole, a great loss of cultural values which the new ideology did not replace.

An important factor in producing the Nazi type lay in the lack of a healthy and harmonious relationship between the rational and irrational forces of the soul; *homo sapiens* in our age has been displaced by *homo faber*. An emphasis on professional and technical skills, the trend toward external standardization resulted in an unbalanced training. The products thereof (Meinecke cites Rosenberg as an example) at a certain stage in life may strike out to redress the balance; emotional or irrational forces react blindly against a previous neglect, frequently turning to exotic ideals, the latest modes, and schemes to save the world in an attempt to give emotional content and meaning to a previous one-sided existence.

We may be too close to the event to have much patience with Meinecke's attempt to extract something positive from National Socialism. Meinecke's personal integrity and a consciousness of having been in the right against Hitler throughout may account for his courage in probing to see whether something of permanent value might not be retrieved from an otherwise calamitous period.

As for the future, Meinecke advocates a German alignment with a central and western European federation. Germany's future status necessarily would be similar to that of Sweden and Holland, states, once great powers, which still revere their national heroes and traditions and live a life of broad cultural content. Likewise, as

in the case of the Netherlands, Germany would be obliged to depend on one or another of the great world powers for survival.

Meinecke's work, while emphasizing the German crisis, has value for all who are interested in the malaise afflicting the Western world in general. Few will assert that the inner conflicts of our civilization which brought a highly educated and advanced people like the Germans to ruin were solely of German origin or peculiar to Germany alone.

Montana State University

OSCAR J. HAMMEN

AUSTRIA FROM HABSBURG TO HITLER. By *Charles A. Gulick*. With a Foreword by Walther Federn. Volume I, LABOR'S WORKSHOP OF DEMOCRACY. Volume II, FASCISM'S SUBVERSION OF DEMOCRACY. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1948. Pp. xxiii, 771; xi, 775-1906. \$20.00.)

THE Austrian state in the period from Habsburg to Hitler resembled the main body of a badly wrecked airplane which in hitting the ground lost its wings and tail assembly. There was a universal belief that Austria, deprived of the role she had played in the then newly defunct Habsburg empire could not continue to exist. The ruling group in the new state, consisting of clergy, bureaucrats, businessmen, former officers, and aristocrats still dreamed of the splendor of Habsburg days. These views were opposed by the Socialist party, as the representative of the workers. The workers saw no reason to lament the fall of an empire that had been controlled by their class enemies. They sympathized to a certain extent with the nations that had broken away from the Habsburg rule and favored an Anschluss with the German republic.

Dr. Gulick, professor of economics at the University of California at Berkeley, has written the history of this short-lived state largely from the viewpoint of the workers. A convinced advocate of social progress through reform, he was deeply impressed by the social improvements for which the Austrian Socialists stood. In his voluminous work he has drawn a meticulously documented picture of the history of social reform both in Austria as a whole and, especially, in "red" Vienna, of the growth of co-operatives and trade unions, of the improvements in the fields of social insurance, education, recreation, and medical care. Following in the footsteps of von Philippovich he pitilessly destroys the smoke screen of Strauss waltzes and *Gemütlichkeit* which for the outsider concealed the social life of a city where in the beginning of this century over seventy-three per cent of the inhabitants lived in unsanitary one-room apartments, which in most cases gave shelter to an entire family with children plus the inevitable "bed tenant." Using this dark scenery as background, Dr. Gulick makes an energetic and successful effort to defend the much-criticized socialist housing program, from the viewpoints of both

history and economy, because of its effect on the health of the population and, thus, on the productivity of labor. Public opinion on the value of the manifold reforms carried out by the Socialists in the Austrian parliament and in the Vienna *Rathaus* was divided and perhaps will always remain so. Yet even readers not accepting the author's views on these subjects will hardly deny the fact that he has given an extremely lucid presentation of the issue and, in showing the connection between the history of social reform and the general development of Austrian politics, has displayed great acumen and an extraordinary knowledge of small detail, acquired in thirteen years of painstaking research work.

In his description of the gradual decline and the downfall of the Socialist party in Austria, Dr. Gulick offers a lengthy analysis of the Socialist "uprising" of February, 1934, of its causes and the trials that followed it, and of the general trend towards "Clerico-Fascism" which in Austria, as a Catholic country with a strong peasant and *petit bourgeois* population had already been visible long before the Nazification of the socially more modern Reich. Dr. Gulick is inspired by a feeling of flaming anger at the sight of the destruction of social legislation brought about by the Dollfuss and Schuschnigg regimes, of the financial strangling of the city of Vienna, center of social reform, and of the encouraging of anti-Semitism by the "Clerico-Fascists." He proves the memoirs of the much-discussed, unscrupulous young *Heimwehr* chief Prince Starhemberg to be a collection of distortions and omissions of the worst kind, and he successfully unmasks both the allegedly democratic spirit of the Dollfuss constitution and the claims of Dr. Schuschnigg, made in recent publications, that he was not a totalitarian at heart.

The criticisms which these and similar statements by Gulick, such as his very unfavorable comments on the chancellor prelate Ignaz Seipel will no doubt provoke in Catholic circles should be tempered by the consideration that the Austrian brand of Catholicism differed from that of some other countries by its primarily agrarian and *petit bourgeois* structure. It was this structure which made Austria especially receptive to the political propaganda emanating from the Fascist countries and which thus—as Gulick correctly shows—helped to prepare the way for Hitlerian aggression.

That a work of this kind is open to sharp attacks from all sides is known to the author himself. "The social scientist," he says in defending his fighting spirit (p. 11), "has not only the right but the duty to draw conclusions from, and express calm judgment on, the factual evidence available." We do not want to attack the author because of his method. Still, it would hardly have been necessary, even for a scholar of his school of thought, to give entire passages of his work the shape of a concluding statement made by counsel for the defense in some sort of world history trial. By cutting down such passages, precious space could have been saved which might have been used for enlarging on the personal background of the main actors in the game, men like Renner, Otto Bauer, Julius Deutsch, Seitz, Schmitz, Fey, Starhemberg, Dollfuss, and Schuschnigg, and for adding a chapter on Aus-

tria's economic development, her trade connections with other countries, and the role she played in the international armament boom.

It may be regretted, in the interest of historical science, that a comprehensive work of this kind had to be based almost exclusively on printed source material, among which clippings from Austrian and Anglo-Saxon papers played a conspicuous role. The delay on the part of our government in releasing information from, or granting access to, captured documents from Europe, with the exception of the comparatively small collection which is earmarked for publication, has prevented the author from gaining knowledge which, it may be surmised, would have been priceless. Yet this defect for which he is not to blame should not obscure the great merits of his achievement. He has enriched history by a most valuable contribution of monumental scope and character.

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE W. F. HALLGARTEN

PAPAL LEGATE AT THE COUNCIL OF TRENT: CARDINAL SERIPANDO. By the Rt. Rev. *Hubert Jedin*. Translated by the Rev. *Frederic C. Eckhoff*. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Company. 1947. Pp. viii, 720. \$7.50.)

THIS study, though the subject is not new to scholars—Jedin's *Girolamo Seripando, sein Leben und Denken im Geisteskampf des 16ten Jahrhunderts* was published in two volumes at Würzburg in 1937—is a welcome addition to the very meager number of books in English on leading figures of the Counter Reformation. Compared with H. O. Evennett's *The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Council of Trent* (Cambridge, England, 1931), it is weighted on the theological side, but this lends it the greater interest, since the subject is an Augustinian, member of an order which played a unique part in the Protestant revolution. It is salutary, moreover, to approach from another and important point of view a period which tends to become Calvinocentric; and for this reviewer, at any rate, Seripando is one of those who, for a generation—say, to the failure of the Colloquy of Regensburg—postponed a “counter” reformation. His tireless efforts at the first assembly of the Council of Trent in favor of an “Augustinian” theory of justification would, if successful, have been a significant victory for the moderates; for Seripando was not in harmony with Carafa, and, on the eve of the last assembly of the council, accepted unwillingly a place on the board of the Inquisition, with its record of severity under Paul IV.

Seripando was not a member of the nine-man commission appointed by Paul III to review the situation in 1536, but he was just then beginning to speak about ecclesiastical abuses (p. 113), and as general of the order was inaugurating a reform of his own by a visitation of Augustinian monasteries in Italy, France, and Spain. He was primarily a Christian Neoplatonist; the influence of Ficino on his theology is analyzed (pp. 42-45). He knew Valdes at Naples, but “their relations were not cordial” (pp. 108-109). Jedin's conclusion as to the reason is partly based on the

Dialogue between Mercury and Charon, now assigned to Alfonso Valdes, not Juan. He could have supported his view (that Juan Valdes was hopeless of reform at Rome) by reference to the correspondence between Valdes and Cardinal Gonzaga, published by Montesinos in 1931. Jedin's scattered references to the *109 Questiones* of Seripando, "product of his stay in Naples 1523 to 1528" (p. 24) and "revealing little of the influence of Erasmus" (p. 69), suggest irresistibly the *110 Divine Considerations* of Valdes. It is almost as if the latter were offering an approach to an inner response to the questions of the Neapolitan, who had developed a scholarly justification of the Christian concepts (p. 76).

Seripando was caustic in his judgments of the popes after he became interested in reform. Paul III "at least talked about reform" (p. 492); Julius III he regarded as a failure because he did not bring it about (p. 491), nor even talk about it; of Paul IV he questioned the sincerity and deplored the political ambition (pp. 504-505). Jedin finds his attitude hardly fair, even in the case of the last. Seripando was twice legate to the Council of Trent, in 1545 and—by this time a cardinal—in 1561. Each time he registers disapproval of an attempt to bring about religious unity by secular rulers without the papal approval. His disapproval of the (second) Colloquy of Regensburg does not square with the admiration for Charles V with which Jedin credits him (p. 505); but perhaps that admiration was a product of Seripando's embassy to Brussels in 1553. As to the Colloquy of Poissy, it seems to the cardinal like the earlier attempts except that, this time, it hinges on a woman "and Catherine de' Medici at that" (p. 575).

An unusually detailed index facilitates the use of this book, and in the text there are frequent pauses for evaluation and summary. The heart of the book is, as its title indicates, the Council of Trent, to which fifteen of the thirty-eight chapters are devoted. The bibliography is taken from the German edition evidently, and the references to Pastor's great work are naturally from the original.

University of Idaho

FREDERIC C. CHURCH

JEAN DUVERGIER DE HAURANNE, ABBÉ DE SAINT-CYRAN, ET SON TEMPS (1581-1638). Volumes II and III of LES ORIGINES DU JANSÉNISME. By Jean Orcibal. [Louvain, Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, Fasc. 26.] (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin. 1947-48. Pp. xv, 685; 281.)

THIS monograph is the second and third volume of Professor Orcibal's projected five-volume study on the origins of Jansenism. The first volume, *Correspondance de Jansénius*, appeared in 1947; volumes four and five, *C. Jansénius, sa vie et son oeuvre (1585-1638)* and *La Naissance du Jansénisme: Saint Cyrian et Antoine Arnauld (1638-1644)*, are in preparation.

The study under consideration is not merely another addition to the already voluminous literature of Jansenist hagiography; it is an extraordinarily competent

and scholarly biography, buttressed by extensive research, and undoubtedly will long remain a classic in the literature of early seventeenth century ecclesiastical historiography. The work should attract an audience wider than students of religious movements as much because Jean Duvergier was a man of stature and importance in early seventeenth century France, as because of the wealth of information that Professor Orcibal has included in his text and footnotes.

The generation of Jean Duvergier de Hauranne, abbé de Saint Cyran, is one of the most interesting of modern history. Born in the era of religious and civil wars, these men came of age when feudal institutions and the federated society of the later Middle Ages and Renaissance were fast giving way to the emerging central authority ruled by men who were grasping for new political forms. The religious conflicts of the preceding century had not yet lost their vigor, but the subordination of religious life to political necessities had already begun to transform the tendencies toward unorthodoxy to a more spiritual orientation. Jean Duvergier, a disciple of the great Cardinal Bérulle, spent his life trying to direct the tide of the new political and religious forms away from the abuses of statism. In politics this led to conflict with Richelieu; in religion it resulted in attempts to reform the clergy and to introduce a more spiritual and ascetic tendency into Catholicism.

Professor Orcibal's study well illustrates the religious problems of post-Reformation France. Jean Duvergier, like Chateaubriand and Lamennais after him, was offended by the statist abuses, and the centralizing forces that reduced spiritual life to a formality. Other men were to react to this characteristic form by becoming deists, atheists, and agnostics. Professor Bremond's observation that Jean Duvergier was a precursor of the romanticists (*Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France depuis la fin des guerres de religion jusqu'à nos jours*, IV, 160) might be amended to say that he was an earlier free spirit responding to the process that was creating the characteristic form of French religious life.

The second volume of this monograph is given over to bibliographical notes, three appended articles, a chronology, and an index. The appendix, "Le patriarcat de Richelieu devant l'opinion," is of special interest.

University of Minnesota

JOHN B. WOLF

THE FAITH OF REASON: THE IDEA OF PROGRESS IN THE FRENCH ENLIGHTENMENT. By *Charles Frankel*. (New York: King's Crown Press. 1948. Pp. x, 165. \$3.00.)

THIS essay on the idea of progress in the French Enlightenment covers the history of that idea in the well-known figures of the period. Beginning with an introductory chapter on Descartes and Pascal, the two great figures of the seventeenth century who, in Professor Frankel's judgment, were the intellectual ancestors of the *philosophes*, it contains sections on Condillac, Helvetius, Chastellux, Rousseau,

Diderot, Voltaire, D'Alembert, Turgot, with briefer references to lesser figures, and concludes with a chapter on Condorcet.

The book has, however, a general thesis. This is, first, that "the development of ideas on progress was an incident in the appearance of modern mathematico-experimental science" (p. 3) and, second, that underlying these ideas there were "two widely divergent interpretations of science," one more directly traceable to Descartes and the other to Pascal. That which was derived from Descartes undertook to place science in a framework of metaphysics that would provide a non-provisional and external guarantee of scientific method, "simple, indubitable, and eternal truths." That which was suggested by Pascal regarded the method of science as "unique among intellectual authorities in that it was a cumulative and self-correcting process" (p. 156). Professor Frankel regards the first as recapitulating "in a different language the main features of the theological interpretation of history which the *philosophes* were combatting" (p. 154). To it he traces the paradoxes in their theories of progress and he holds it still responsible for the separation of science and humanism.

This thesis presents many difficulties both philosophical and historical. There is little evidence that science and humanism are in fact tending to converge, in spite of pious pragmatic wishes for such an event, and there is correspondingly little probability in the supposition that their divergence was due to the quest for metaphysical certainty. The distinction here drawn between Descartes and Pascal, and between two lines of influence in the history of science derived from them, appears to be a reading back into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of a philosophical hope of the twentieth. In particular it seems paradoxical that Pascal's authority in theology and his rigid distinction of theology from science should have been the means by which science was released from metaphysics.

Cornell University

GEORGE H. SABINE

COLLECTION DU CENTENAIRE DE LA RÉVOLUTION DE 1848. [Publiée sous le patronage du Comité National du Centenaire.] (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1948.) L'AVÈNEMENT DU SUFFRAGE UNIVERSEL. By *Paul Bastid*. (Pp. 76. 80 fr.) LES JOURNÉES DE FÉVRIER 1848. By *Jean Bruhat*. (Pp. 75. 80 fr.) LE QUARANTE-HUITARD. By *Jean Cassou*. (Pp. 51. 60 fr.) P.-J.-B. BUCHEZ ET LES ORIGINES DU SOCIALISME CHRÉTIEN. By *Armand Cuvillier*. (Pp. 82. 80 fr.) BLANQUI. By *Sylvain Molinier*. (Pp. 70. 80 fr.) LEDRU-ROLLIN. By *Robert Schnerb*. (Pp. 75. 80 fr.) LE GOUVERNEMENT PROVISOIRE ET L'EUROPE. By *E. Tersen*. (Pp. 77. 80 fr.)

To Western society, which uses the decimal system, centenaries seem to possess a special fascination. Needless to say, significant "periods" of history do not often delimit themselves neatly in terms of centuries, but the numerous celebrations in

memory of the Revolutions of 1848 possess more than the usual justification. For many of the ideas and the movements which are an accepted and fundamental part of our world were given their first important trial in the revolutions of a century ago, which accomplished so little but left such broad influences in their wake. One has only to mention universal suffrage, trade unions and the emancipation of labor, socialism, anarchism in its modern implications, producers' co-operatives, the emergence of women, universal education—and, alas, even proto-fascist dictatorship, built by Napoleon III on the ruins of the Revolution in France.

It was inevitable that this period should be rich in its lessons for the French at a time when they are emerging from the depths of their wartime disaster to construct a new republic—seeking to realize more broadly than its predecessor the social objectives of the Revolution of 1848. From the already considerable monographic literature, a group of French historians and others are presenting, under the direction of Professor Charles Pouthas of the Sorbonne, a series of brief general statements on a variety of men and movements of the Revolution, the first seven of which are here under review. These little books represent the happy liaison between scholarship and the public, of which the French know so well the secret. They are clear, readable, significantly focused and, on the whole, based on a scholarly knowledge of the literature. They will appeal alike to the general reader and to the student in his beginnings. A brief annotated list of books for further reading would be an improvement. They also strongly suggest the broad gaps in our knowledge which remain to be filled by further investigation.

From the point of view of both interest and solidity, the volumes by Schnerb, Tersen, and Cuvillier deserve special mention. Schnerb, long an expert on the Great Revolution and the era of Napoleon III, preserves exceptional balance in his treatment of Ledru-Rollin, a lesser Danton for whom the turbulent events of forty-eight carved out so much larger a reputation than subsequent examination of the facts has justified. One wonders a little why M. Schnerb has devoted so much attention to Ledru's ideas which are on the whole commonplace enough: descendant of the Jacobins, he is precursor of the Radical Socialists.

Tersen neatly states the dichotomy in foreign policy which paralleled that in the domestic field. The articulate masses were on the whole interventionist and would have carried once again by force the generous ideas of the Revolution beyond the borders of France. But the moderate majority of the Provisional Government, supported by the bourgeoisie (which had so recently denounced Guizot for the policy of "peace at any price") designed a policy of prudence. Lamartine's *attentisme lyrique* permitted the poet to follow the line of discretion while his speeches embellished in strokes of vague rhetoric French sympathy for the revolting nationalities. Tersen boldly questions the validity of this policy which maintained the peace during the turbulent days at home: peace profited the monarchies in Europe, and French history might have been quite different had the government enlisted the masses in a positive stand abroad. French failure, for example,

to aid democratic elements beyond the Rhine left the field free for the forces of reaction to unite Germany—and largely against France.

Cuvillier studies the origins of Christian Socialism, a subject of special interest to postwar France in which liberal Catholic doctrine and the new MRP have played an important part. He shows how the ideas of Buchez, who came to social Catholicism by way of materialism, the Carbonari, and the Saint Simonians, richly nourished such eclectics as Louis Blanc.

Molinier's *Blanqui* is distinctly the slightest work of the group and is in some measure an impressionistic panegyric. It concludes, however, with an arresting statement to Molinier by Clemenceau, who knew Blanqui well:

Blanqui was not a theorist, and systematic ideas were foreign to him. On the other hand, he possessed in the highest degree the qualities which make the man of action: courage, sincerity, generosity; it was thus that he won support. Moreover, in spite of seeming physical weakness, he revealed an astonishing energy. Above all, he knew how to create about himself an atmosphere of revolutionary enthusiasm. This explains, in my view, the tremendous influence which he exercised upon so many of his contemporaries.

Bastid describes how universal suffrage, the Revolution's "principal title to glory," was realized effectively for the first time in French history. Cassou, in *The Man of Forty-Eight*, revives the spirit and the figures of the period—Hugo, Dauder, Raspail, Barbès. And they are not men alone: Flora Tristan, Marie d'Agoult, George Sand make their sex felt, even if no one thought of giving them the vote! These forty-eighters deeply felt that they must regenerate society but they could not translate "their revolutionary intuition into revolutionary technique" (p. 40). This was the tragedy of the Revolution of 1848.

Harvard University

DONALD C. MCKAY

LE ORIGINI DELL'ITALIA MODERNA. By *Egidio Reale*. (Lugano: Ghilda del Libro. 1944. Pp. 303.)

IN this handsome volume a distinguished author retells a familiar story in his own way but in familiar terms. Published in Switzerland, the book appears to have been written in exile. This may explain why the references in the notes are all to works on the Risorgimento that can be found in any foreign cultural center and to no others. It may also explain why the author once more presents the Risorgimento, in the spirit of nineteenth century romanticism, as the triumph of an ideal and an epic of personal heroism. He does justice to changing conditions, particularly to shifts in the balance of power, as permitting Italian statesmen, above all Cavour, to crown this heroism with political victory. But the victory was earned by the "martyrs of liberty," above all by Mazzini. The author's section on the Roman Republic of 1849 is a passage of shining eloquence. His evident aim was

to extract from the Risorgimento of the nineteenth century all that might nerve the Italian enemies of Fascism to complete it in the twentieth.

In his swing back to the old-fashioned view of the Risorgimento, the author dismisses the thesis that it began in eighteenth century Italy. This was a thesis inspired by a pardonable desire of the Italians to reduce their debt to the French and it was fashionable with historians of the Fascist era. Reale's reasonable statement of the opposite thesis in terms of the known facts shows how little substance it had. His own view of the Risorgimento is reflected in the proportions of his presentation: six per cent to the period before 1700; ten per cent to the eighteenth century; seventeen per cent to the Revolutionary and Napoleonic era; sixty per cent to 1815-1849; seven per cent to 1849-1870.

A book like this is a discouraging comment on the historiography of the Risorgimento. It is disturbing that one of the theses constructed by that historiography with much labor can easily be reversed by a thoughtful restatement of the basic facts. It is equally disturbing to find that an author of the learning and sincerity of Reale disregards or is unaware of the historical studies that have opened new horizons and provided fresh materials for an understanding of modern Italy, and tells the story substantially as Vanucci and Tivaroni told it. The most discouraging fact of all is that even foreign historians continue to repeat this same story, modernized chiefly in detail.

Washington, D. C.

KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD

UNA RIVOLUZIONE SOCIALE: LA REPUBBLICA ROMANA DEL 1849 (16 NOVEMBRE 1848—3 LUGLIO 1849). By *Domenico Demarco*. Prefazione di Corrado Barbagallo. (Naples: Mario Fiorentino Editore. 1944? L. 400.)

In the whole of Europe during the mid-nineteenth century years of revolution, nothing was more shocking to conservative courts and society than the proclamation of the Roman Republic. Yet no action so much appealed to the imagination of Italian nationalists outside the boundaries of the kingdom of Sardinia as the last defense of the tricolor at Rome. The effects of the Roman Republic on the later development of the movement for Italian unification, its influence on Vatican policy and on the subsequent conflict of church and state, and the total cost to France of her intervention of 1849 have often been carefully studied. Professor Demarco sets as his problem the analysis and appraisal of the social and economic policy of the Roman Republic. He has made a close, careful, and exhaustive study of the domestic legislation of the republic which so horrified conservative society of that age. The "Red," "communistic," regime of crime and terror turns out to have been one which was never able to overcome certain typical problems of a capitalistic society: the burden of the state debt which it immediately recognized; inflation already under way when the republic was proclaimed;

unemployment which it was quite unable to overcome. Demarco's statistics show (pp. 73-74) that the revolutionary assembly was overwhelmingly composed of natives of the Papal States. His analysis shows that its social and economic legislation is better explained in terms of the immediate grievances of the underprivileged classes of the theocratic regime than in terms of any abstract system. The bourgeoisie were definitely underprivileged under the old government and a good part of the reforms of 1849 were in their interest.

Professor Demarco writes with sympathetic care in describing the acts of the republic: confiscation of church property, tariff reform, abolition of ecclesiastical courts and other clerical privileges, public works for the unemployed. His final judgments are, moreover, nicely balanced. The revolution created many enemies: the old governing class, dissident moderates, clergy high and low. A good part of the bourgeoisie and even of the poorer classes became discontented with the situation which the republic created. He quotes with approval the assertion of Gioberti that even without French intervention the Roman Republic would have fallen. On the other hand, because of the reforms which the republic legislated and put into practice, it was impossible for the restored papal government to make an effective reconciliation with most of its subjects. Some minor errors in spelling and a very restricted use of materials on the French expedition do not detract from the merit of the book.

Washington, D. C.

HOWARD MCGAW SMYTH

THE CIANO DIARIES, 1939-1943: THE COMPLETE, UNABRIDGED DIARIES OF COUNT GALEAZZO CIANO, ITALIAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, 1936-1943. Edited by *Hugh Gibson*. Introduction by Sumner Welles. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1946. Pp. xxxi, 584. \$5.00.)

DESPITE the subtitle, despite Mr. Gibson's statement that "the text of the diaries is given unabridged," and despite Mr. Welles's assertion that the diaries are "now for the first time published in full," this volume contains neither the "complete" nor the "unabridged" diaries of Ciano for the years 1939-1943.

There is, of course, the possibility that Mr. Gibson's edition is based on a version of the diaries different from the version published in Italy (Galeazzo Ciano, *Diario*, 2 vols., Milan, Rizzoli Editore, 1st ed., April, 1946, 4th ed., May, 1947), but this possibility we are strongly inclined to discount because the copyright of both the Gibson and the Italian editions is owned by Doubleday and Company, and hence the same Italian text was doubtless used.

The discrepancies between the two editions with respect to the textual content and the dates of the entries in the diary are such that scholars would be well advised to be extremely cautious in consulting what Mr. Welles describes, rather generously, as "one of the most valuable historical documents of our times."

A few examples of the discrepancies should suffice to make our point clear.

The entry for January 17, 1939, in the Gibson edition contains a brief paragraph on the American invention of a powerful gunpowder; omitted from this paragraph are first, the statement that Americans would be disposed to turn over the secret of the invention to the Italians, and secondly, the reference to S.I.M. (the Italian military intelligence service).

In the entry for January 28, 1939, the Gibson text fails to give the complete allusion to François Poncet. Mussolini's reported comment on the relations between Goebbels and Fröhlich is not fully presented in the Gibson edition of the entry for February 13, 1939.

The last part of a sentence concerning the acceptance of credentials of a British ambassador to Italy without the title of king of Albania is missing from the Gibson text of the entry for April 21, 1939. In the entry for April 28, 1939, the Italian version speaks of people being ready to wage war, while the Gibson version says they know that war is inevitable. The first few lines in the Gibson edition of the entry for July 7, 1939, differ from those in the Italian edition. On August 9 of the same year, the chances of victory in a war are sixty per cent in the Italian text, fifty per cent in the Gibson text. Not included in the Gibson edition of the entry for October 31, 1941, are several lines about an American "marchesa," who was suspected of espionage and was said to be the mistress of the American military attaché.

A glaring discrepancy concerns leakages from the British embassy in Rome. According to the Gibson text of the entries for March 31, April 26, 1940, certain documents were "shown" to the Italians by or at the British embassy. On the other hand, the Italian text tells us, euphemistically, yet unmistakably, that the documents were filched. Of course, Ciano does not explain how they were filched. It has been known for some time that the Fascists had gained access to "secret" information in important embassies at Rome. Apropos the leakages from the British, Hector McNeil, minister of state for foreign affairs, while correcting the inaccurate statements made by Kurt von Schuschnigg, ex-Chancellor of Austria, in his book *Austrian Requiem*, declared in the House of Commons on December 8, 1947, that an Italian servant "had been able to remove documents from the Embassy in Rome over a considerable period." Mr. McNeil concluded: "I perhaps should mention that Ciano gives a clearer account of the leakages in his book"; obviously, the British minister was not relying on the Gibson text.

There are other differences between the Gibson and the Italian editions: "his" becomes "my"; "centuries" becomes "three centuries"; "Goering" becomes "that fellow"; "our conditions" becomes "our plight"; "pederasty" becomes "moral turpitude"; "the democracies" becomes "democracy"; "puttana" becomes a mere "fibbertigibbet"; the entries for the early days of April, 1939, when the final stages of the "conquest" of Albania were being prepared, bear different dates in the two editions; "my notes," in the last sentence of the final entry, becomes "my hurried notes."

Both the Gibson and the Italian editions cover the same span of time, from 1939 to 1943. This, however, does not preclude the existence of other unpublished "diary entries" by Ciano for the same period; given Ciano's character and the ease with which he talked about or read excerpts from his "diary," given Mussolini's knowledge of the existence of a diary and the possibility that he might ask to see it, it is not unlikely that Ciano may have kept handy, and for a variety of purposes, more than one version of "embarrassing" entries. Also, it may be worth noting, while the published diary begins, somewhat artificially, with the entry for January 1, 1939, there is excellent reason to believe that its author had been writing a diary since 1936, when he became foreign minister; what has happened to this pre-1939 record is not yet clear, but it should occasion no surprise if the whole or parts of it should see the light in the near future.

A final word about the Gibson edition: in every respect, it is a model of what an edition of a historical document should not be.

Queens College

GAUDENS MEGARO

HISTOIRE DU PEUPLE ANGLAIS AU XIX^e SIÈCLE. IV, LE MILIEU DU SIÈCLE (1841-1852). By *Élie Halévy*, Professeur à l'École libre des Sciences politiques. (Paris: Librairie Hachette. 1946. Pp. xi, 398.)

THE AGE OF PEEL AND COBDEN: A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE, 1841-1852. By *Élie Halévy*. Translated from the French by E. I. Watkin. (London: Ernest Benn; New York: Peter Smith. 1947, 1948. Pp. xi, 374.)

EXCEPT for a history of European socialism which, like *L'Ère des Tyrannies* (1938), has been entrusted to Célestin Bouglé for preparation (and publication about June, 1948), this posthumous volume is the last utterance of the great historian of modern Britain. (For a summary view of his work consult *Thought*, XXIII [March, 1948], 101-13.) It is a partially perfected span of the bridge across the years 1841 to 1895 to whose construction he returned impatiently in 1932, only to be diverted to the tragedy which was engulfing Europe and to be stopped by death in August, 1937. Thanks to the devotion of Madame Halévy, friends, and students, and to his own knowledge and painstaking skill, Paul Vaucher has been able to put together Halévy's writings, notes, and sources, with transitions of his own, so as to present a sustained, if necessarily uneven, account of the years before and after "The Revolution of 1846." For this all students must be grateful. Long researches and the brilliant distillation from them have been successfully salvaged. Halévy had planned two more volumes for 1853 to 1865 and 1866 to 1894.

On the whole, this is the history of Peel rather than of Cobden, for until his death in 1850 the Conservative revolutionary was the ultimate master of the situation, whether in office or out of it, in both houses of Parliament and in the nation. Moreover, Disraeli, his ambitious rival in the Tory party, blandly appropriated Peel's ideas for his impudent budget of 1852. Through Peel liberalism triumphed

over inertia and resistance by imposing on the United Kingdom a new, simple, and comprehensive politico-economic pattern of freer trade and income tax. In these senses, the volume is an efficient corrective to the Whig interpretation which has largely prevailed. Lord John Russell comes out very small indeed.

Yet without the daring of Cobden and of his more progressive disciple, Bright, Peel could not have had his way. Halévy demonstrates as never before the uneven contest between the Chartists and the Anti-Corn-Law League for the support of the miserable masses during the Hungry Forties. The liberals won, but in doing so they not only deliberately incited their audiences to violence, even hinting at the assassination of Peel, but they equally deliberately created unemployment in mines and factories, thereby intensifying the "revolt of hunger" in 1842, so as to terrorize Parliament into repealing the Corn Law. Better times saved them from revolution that autumn and they rapidly dropped their dangerous games for a while, resuming them less rashly in 1843-44 and in 1845-46. During the crisis of 1847 Manchester even contemplated the advantages to the cotton industry of utterly unrestrained deflation. "They could sow the wind and disavow the whirlwind" (p. 89). They had more money and much better leadership than the Chartists. There was no British revolution in 1848.

In 1936, Halévy explained that he had been born five or six years too soon and was a liberal. This has been reflected throughout his writings on British history by an underemphasis on the cumulative state intervention in industry which paralleled the retreat from intervention in trade. He seems to have realized this during the distressed last five years of his life (witness *L'Ère des Tyrannies*, pp. 213-49), but, while this volume records (and attributes chiefly to humanitarianism, anti-liberalism, and radicalism) the interventions in factories, mines, railways, banking, public health, ocean shipping, religion, education, etc., Halévy's circumstances were apparently not propitious for a systematic and retrospective alteration in his interpretative emphasis.

The shock of the Continental revolutions of 1848 on Great Britain is portrayed as having been absorbed in various forms of paternalism (but omitting Trevelyan's instant recourse to administrative reform). This introduces, *inter alia*, the extremely interesting, though incomplete, last chapter on "Religious Beliefs." It tends, however, to underestimate the persistence of Chartism, as Miss F. E. Gillespie and others have demonstrated it, in the people's conviction that the vote was a natural right. Greater attention to this real, if temporarily thwarted, democracy might have been profitably attached to the discussions of J. S. Mill's abrupt change of direction in 1848, anticipating, as it did, his fear of democracy, his devices for accommodating it safely, and the logically unresolved fashion in which he accepted Socialism. The majority of the people could not be used again and again to give threatening weight to assaults on the landed aristocracy, as they were from 1807 to 1846, without creating an irresistible force. Halévy allows the feebleness of the Chartists in 1848 to eclipse that circumstance.

The most tantalizing page of this remarkable book (p. 292, English edition) contains M. Vaucher's revelation of how Halévy took up Marx's challenge of 1848 by examining the growth and distribution of British wealth about that time. Although Vaucher was unable to convert Halévy's notes into the two chapters he had planned, he did record his apparent conclusion. "England, far from being the country in which wealth was most unequally distributed, was the country where the middle class was strongest. There is much truth in the Marxian view. There was enormous wealth and extreme poverty. But the wide gap between them was filled by the wide extent of the middle classes."

It is fortunate that an American publisher has now brought out this enduring book at a time when practically all of Halévy's volumes in Watkin's translations are out of print in Great Britain, and when almost none of them is available, there or here, at second hand.

Columbia University

J. B. BREBNER

A HISTORY OF PORTUGAL. By *H. V. Livermore*. (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Company, 1947. Pp. xvi, 502. \$10.00.)

HERE at last is a book that fills the need that has long existed for a reliable short history of Portugal in English. Until the appearance of the present volume, and except for Mr. George Young's *Portugal Old and Young* (Oxford, 1917), which was never fully satisfactory, the English-speaking person who could not read Portuguese had to have recourse to H. Morse Stephens' *Portugal*, published at a time when the Western world was getting ready to celebrate the fourth centenary of the discovery of America and when it was thought, therefore, that Portugal might rightly be remembered. This pioneer work of 1891 served its purpose at the beginning to good advantage, but it inevitably became outmoded. Today such a book could only be recommended in the absence of anything better.

It is true that in the interim a number of Britishers and Americans have felt the perennial attraction for England's ancient ally, and that this attraction has led, largely through works in English, to the increase of our knowledge of Portugal. There are, for example, the solid and first-rate contributions to Portuguese history of Mr. Edgar Prestage, the retired professor of Portuguese at King's College, London, as also those of his successor, Mr. Charles R. Boxer, our outstanding authority on the Portuguese in the Far East. There are also the books and articles, some more serious than others, by Aubrey Bell, Rodney Gallop, Elaine Sanceau, Marcus Cheke, Rose Macaulay, J. Gibbons, Mabel Jackson, Eric Axelson, Charles Nowell, William B. Greenlee, Alexander Marchant, and J. D. M. Ford, men and women who have worked in restricted fields. Yet none of these writers—and the list is in many ways a distinguished one—has done the very useful thing that Mr. Livermore, happily for us, thought of doing; that is to say, none has given us so competently the over-all development of Portugal from pre-Roman times to the

present for the benefit of the layman who is not yet prepared to go off by himself into the deeper waters of Portuguese history.

The treatment of such a long and complex history as that of Portugal cannot possibly be done with unvarying excellence, nor can it be done completely within the covers of a single volume. These are the limitations that Mr. Livermore faced; and it is indeed to his credit that he succeeded so well. To be sure, specialists will probably agree that the first part of the book has more to recommend it than the last, which in a number of instances is less capably done; but these differences are slight and are not enough to disturb the fairly even balance of the whole. The more sophisticated reader may also question the wisdom of some of the deletions the author, because of the demands of space, was obviously forced to make. Yet the material that remains, presented in a readable fashion, is more than abundant, and has been handled, moreover, with a sense of proportion, with honesty and understanding. The latter virtue is as remarkable as it has been rare among us. Even such a devoted friend of the Portuguese as was Robert Southey never got religious prejudices out of his handsome head, and the occasional asides on the obscurantism of the Catholic Church mar his otherwise excellent work. That Mr. Livermore has written on so broad a scale with so striking an awareness of his subject is by no means the least of his accomplishments.

It may also be said in his favor that he did not lose sight of the fact that he was writing for the uninformed reader, with the result that his narrative is not made heavy by adverting at length to problems or buttressing a point with additional information familiar to the specialist. This is particularly true in the case of footnotes, which are few in number and for the most part explanatory. The reader will likewise appreciate the rather wide use of illustrations, some of which are published for the first time, as well as the reference index for handy consultation. The only serious criticism of the book is its price, and this may stand in the way of the wide circulation that it properly deserves.

During the eight hundred years of Portugal's existence as a nation, stronger powers have succumbed, boundaries better defined than hers have been obliterated, and even languages have fallen into oblivion. Yet Portugal, perilously placed on the "balcony of Europe," hemmed in by strong and often unfriendly neighbors, possessing an exiguous population and limited natural resources, has been able, despite multiple handicaps, to produce an important literature, to contribute significantly to the expansion of the domain of Western Christendom, if we may paraphrase Mr. Toynbee, to create three empires, including the present one in Africa and the Orient, and above all to survive with fair dignity. Among the many lessons that the reader will learn from Mr. Livermore's volume is that the history of Portugal is filled with countless "miracles of Ourique." Perhaps Oliveira Martins was right in developing his theory of chance, for the perdurability in national unity of a people that ran on many occasions the risk of losing everything only to bounce back again with at least a measure of the old vigor cannot otherwise be easily explained.

Our congratulations are very much in order to Mr. Livermore and to his publisher, and we hope that many people will enjoy as much as we did this worthwhile contribution to the Cambridge list. We also hope that Mr. Livermore will not stay permanently in the Foreign Office, but will resume a career of teaching and writing. The promise he gives in the present book for a real contribution to scholarship ought not to be allowed to remain unfulfilled.

Catholic University of America

MANOEL S. CARDOZO

KIEVAN RUSSIA. By *George Vernadsky*, Professor of Russian History, Yale University. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1948. Pp. xii, 412. \$5.00.)

THE present work, published under the separate title *Kievan Russia*, is the second volume of the monumental history of Russia in ten volumes planned by Professors Vernadsky and Karpovich. It covers the first four centuries of recorded Russian history, the all-important formative period in which the Russian nation was constituted and developed its religious and national consciousness. It was apparently Professor Vernadsky's ambition to rewrite and reinterpret Russian history in the light of the important research done by both Russian and foreign scholars after the closing, with Kliuchevsky, of what might be termed the classical period of Russian historiography. In this he has been eminently successful. He has analyzed and collated an astounding amount of material with the same painstaking and solid scholarship which was so impressive in the first volume of the series, *Ancient Russia*. He has covered the history of the period with a thoroughness and a many-sidedness which leave little, if anything, of importance out. Also, in the period under discussion, the wealth of available material offers ground for more solid erudition; hence his judgments are surer and more positive than in the earlier period where much had to remain hypothetical. These judgments are a credit to the scientific objectivity of a writer whose views are carefully balanced.

However, Professor Vernadsky suffers somewhat from an excess of cautiousness and objectivity. History is something more than a collection of ascertainable facts however cautiously scrutinized. The book lacks the intuitional capacity of a Kliuchevsky or even of the old-fashioned Karamzin to make Russian history live. It is owing to this defect that the age of Yaroslav the Wise, which was regarded as the golden age of Kiev, is lost to the reader in the welter of detail. Perhaps the arrangement of the book in separate chapters according to topical subjects accounts for this lack of synthesis.

On the other hand, the complicated pattern of princely feuds is skillfully and clearly presented. A real contribution to history is also the clarification of one of the most obscure problems of early Russian history, the relations of the princes of Kiev with the Tmutorakan Kaganate as well as the problems of relations of the young Russian Church with the Byzantine Patriarchate. Particularly lucid and valuable are the chapters dealing with the economic, social, and cultural life of Kievan Russia. The all too numerous foreign writers on Russia who delight in

declaring that Russian history begins only with the rise of Muscovy and with the Mongol invasion, would do well to study the present work. If Professor Vernadsky has not written the definitive work on Kievan Russia, no such book could be written without being indebted to Professor Vernadsky's encyclopedic erudition.

University of Michigan

A. LOBANOV-ROSTOVSKY

THE ORIGINS OF MODERN RUSSIA. By *Jan Kucharzewski*. (New York: Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America. 1948. Pp. xxi, 503.)

THIS book is written from the point of view that the successful establishment—contrary to all contemporary expectations—of the Communist-Bolshevik rule on the ruins of both tsardom and the anti-tsarist opposition was inherent and deeply rooted in Russian historical evolution.

Most Russian revolutionists, while condemning conditions under the tsars, idealized the future Russian revolution. They saw the West as too burdened with its rich heritage to make the clean break with its past necessary to achieve the new system sought by the Western revolutionaries. But Russia, by virtue of its civilizational juniority, would not have to compromise with its past. It would become the chosen nation of revolution, the leader of universal revolution, which would assure freedom and equality.

Contrary to this tragic illusion, Russia actually was shackled by its own centuries-long enslavement which had entrenched habits of despotism, lack of respect for law and man's freedom, disregard for human individuality. Man was a tool, the material for achieving intended aims and programs—a conviction shared alike by tsarists and revolutionaries, *e.g.*, Bakunin, Nechayev, Zaichnevsky.

Inherited from the past was the wish to dominate other nations. Pan-Slavism actually was Pan-Russianism. The idea of old Moscow as the third Rome, as the political and social leader of the future, finds parallel expression in modern times in the Russian belief that Russia alone possessed the secret of regenerating a world immersed in the errors and prejudices of the rotten West. Here are the seeds of Red imperialism. In this connection Russo-Polish relations are revealing. Tsarist Russia put the subjugation of Poland at the head of her Russifying tasks; it became the school of Russia's attitude toward other nations already annexed or to be annexed. But surprisingly, such Russian revolutionists as the Decembrists, Herzen, and Bakunin, though they might glaringly picture and denounce the oppression of Poland, in their own view of the post-revolutionary future, regarded Poland as belonging within a federation headed by Russia. Poland's salvation lay in divorce from the decadent West.

Another heritage of the past led to the resurgence of dictatorship after the fall of the autocracy. A long school of slavery cannot produce a sense of the necessity of law to protect freedom and order. All government and laws are identified with oppression. Thus is engendered a spontaneous anarchism, a hatred for any author-

ity, which, joined with an inveterate resignation for submitting to force, favored the creation of a new organization of absolute, dictatorial, ultra-police coercion after the destruction of the old.

What has just been briefly summarized above is discussed from a historical, sociological, and psychological point of view in a one-volume abridgment of a seven-volume work by Mr. Kucharzewski, published in Polish in the interwar period. He is concerned not with the origins of all aspects of modern Russia but primarily with those features of Russian historical development which proved decisive during and since the Revolution, particularly as they revealed themselves in the nineteenth century. Furthermore, he limits himself to telling what those decisive features were, not why they became dominant in the Russian heritage. The working data of the book consequently are essentially selective. The twentieth century is discussed but little; the German bombardment of Warsaw in September, 1939, destroyed the author's library and notes for the completion of his original study.

One may suspect that a Pole writing on Russia is wont to view the traditional enemy through dark glasses. Perhaps so, especially in his discussion of the Rurikovich grand princes and tsars, but one is compelled to recognize that Mr. Kucharzewski's analysis is penetrating and illuminating in its insight into the Russian mind and spirit, excelling in depth, if not always in breath of grasp. His presentation, based on twenty years of wide reading in the relevant literature (which is extensively cited), is able, scholarly, and substantial, possibly too substantial, for his many-faceted treatment, combined with a tautological style, detracts from sharpness of outline and conclusion. Nevertheless, one gains from this book a surer and clearer understanding of "why they behave like Russians" than is derived from the spate of popular accounts exploiting the question.

The abridgment and the translation, which does not read like one, were done by the Polish Institute. There are some unusual transliterations, and too many typographical errors occur. But these are minor faults, which do not detract from the basic worth of the book.

University of California, Los Angeles

RAYMOND H. FISHER

SLAVIC CIVILIZATION THROUGH THE AGES. By *Samuel Hazzard Cross*.

Edited with a Foreword by *Leonid I. Strakhovsky*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1948. Pp. vi, 195. \$3.50.)

WHEN Professor Cross's busy and varied career came to an untimely end in 1946 he had published many articles and trained numerous scholars, but he had never brought together in a single volume the results of his long preoccupation with the principal field of his interest—Slavic civilization. He fortunately left, however, the manuscript of eight Lowell Lectures which he delivered in Boston in the autumn of 1939. His colleague Dr. Strakhovsky has now prepared them for pub-

lication in a volume which does full justice to Professor Cross's rich scholarship.

To embrace the entire sweep of Slavic civilization within the scope of eight relatively brief essays necessarily involves considerable selection and condensation. In the first half of the volume, which covers the emergence and migrations of the Slavic peoples and the religious and political beginnings of their various states, the author relies heavily on the Russian Primary Chronicle of which he published the standard English version in the *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, XII (Cambridge, 1930), 77-320. Readers familiar with Professor Cross's work will also recognize other evidences of his original scholarship in these early chapters.

Once Professor Cross has brought the Slavic peoples onto the European scene as established political entities by the end of the Middle Ages, he is faced with the difficult problem of tracing their development in modern times and of describing their unique relationship of isolation from and interchange with western Europe. He solves this problem with unusual skill, particularly in his chapter on the "Foundations of Russian Culture" (pp. 98-120) which is a brilliant interpretation of the long period from the fifteenth century, when Russia was separated from the West by a wide chasm, to the great achievements of Russian culture at the end of the nineteenth. Separate chapters are also devoted to the growth of the Western Slavs within the German orbit and to the development of the South Slav peoples both before and since their liberation from foreign rule.

One cannot follow this broad and rapid survey of Slavic civilization without seeking in it some guidance for the perplexities of the world today. Professor Cross recognizes this problem, and in discussing it rejects explicitly as "romantic nonsense" the idea advanced by Herder, Mazzini, and Nietzsche that the mission of the Slavs is to overrun Europe. To him the destiny of the Slavs is rather to exercise the right, which they share with all other peoples, "to evolve and develop their native talents under a maximum of liberty" (p. 184). He is certain that in such a free competition they will contribute their full share to the wealth of world culture, and in this brief volume he has presented a convincing statement of his case.

Princeton University

C. E. BLACK

RUSSIA IN FLUX. By Sir John Maynard. Edited and Abridged by S. Haden Guest. With a Foreword by Sir Bernard Pares. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1948. Pp. xviii, 564. \$6.50.)

THIS volume is an abridged edition of the late author's two books (*Russia in Flux: Before October* and *The Russian Peasant and Other Studies*), which appeared in England during the war. The first ten chapters (about two hundred pages) are a general survey of Russia's modern history through the Revolution of 1917. The rest of the volume contains a history of the establishment and growth

of the Soviet regime, coupled with a topical discussion of some of its fundamental features.

I have no doubt that this is one of the most outstanding books on Russia that have been published in the course of the last thirty years. Brilliantly written, it is the work of a man whose personal contact with Russia went back to the late nineteenth century and who had a wide and thorough knowledge of Russian literature and history. The chapters on the various intellectual trends in pre-Revolutionary Russia are among the best writings on the subject available in any language, and a marvel of condensation. Equally good are many pages dealing with the Russian peasant, a subject that apparently was particularly close to the author's heart. In his treatment of the other subjects as well, Sir John has succeeded in assembling an amazing amount of useful information accompanied by a highly interesting and very often original comment.

Throughout the discussion, Sir John obviously tried to remain as detached and impartial as possible. He did not hesitate to pass harsh judgment on those phases of the Soviet regime of which he did not approve, but he tended to give it all the benefit of doubt, and the general impression is rather one of apology for the regime based on broad historical grounds. As such, his book is far superior to the well-known previous attempts of the Webbs or of Professor Schuman. It contains the best that can be said *for* the Soviet regime.

Frankly speaking, I do not feel convinced of the validity of some of the author's basic conclusions. Space does not permit me to develop my critical remarks, and I can only indicate briefly the main lines along which my doubts go. I believe that in his interpretation of the course of Russian history, Sir John was unduly influenced by the Slavophiles and such modern writers as Berdyaev. Hence his very questionable attempts at establishing continuity between the pre-Revolutionary peasant mir and the collective farm, or at proving the indigenous nature of the soviets. The same infatuation with the idea of the "congregational spirit" of the Russians led this often acute observer to a highly unrealistic description of the first elections under the Stalin constitution as a "paean of praise and thanksgiving," a "fusion of the brethren and the sisterhood into a congregation of love," and a feast of "dionysiac self-abandonment."

It seems to me also that, with all his effort toward objectivity, Sir John was not free of wartime emotions, and, because of this, some of his pages dedicated to Soviet foreign policy today make rather strange reading.

Finally, I do not think that the dissection of freedom into two halves, "political" and "economic," of which the West supposedly has the first and the Soviet Union the second, has any precise meaning or that it does help much in understanding either Soviet Russia's internal developments or her relations with the outside world.

Harvard University

MICHAEL KARPOVICH

LENIN: A BIOGRAPHY. By *David Shub*. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1948. Pp. viii, 438. \$5.00.)

In its special Russian issue of February, 1943 (a time now almost infinitely remote), Henry Luce's *Life* published a portrait of Lenin over the caption: "This is perhaps the greatest man of the twentieth century." In 1948 few would challenge this estimate, since half the world now regards Lenin as the greatest force for good in our epoch—while the other half deems him the greatest force for evil. Such a man, one might suppose, would by now have provoked numerous efforts at definitive biographies. Strangely enough, no such body of literature exists. Casual memoirs and reminiscences about Lenin are abundant. Naïve eulogies and indictments are innumerable. But the only serious life-stories to date are Trotsky's sketch of 1925, Yaroslavsky's early work, the official C. P. political biography, and the volumes by George Vernadsky and D. S. Mirsky, both published in 1931.

Curiously, none of these is cited by David Shub in his otherwise elaborately documented work. His book however is the most ambitious and useful biography of Lenin to appear thus far. It is solidly factual, vividly written, full of "human interest" touches, fascinating—and yet baffling, because its author, despite great erudition, is himself baffled by his subject and by his own ambivalences toward his material. These pages contain no heroization and little invective. The blurbs on the jacket by William C. Bullitt, Norman Thomas, and the late Simeon Strunsky are best ignored. Mr. Shub does not approach Lenin in the spirit of these men, nor with their purposes. His apparent aim was to avoid judgment, state the facts (with references to many Russian sources), and permit them to speak for themselves. The result is a book which will be of immense value to all specialists in Russian affairs.

The aim, however, is not fulfilled, partly because it is misconceived and partly because the author, like all of us, is the prisoner of his past and of his preferences. Editor Hugh Gibson identifies him as a writer for the *Jewish Daily Forward* of New York, as an early member of the R.S.D.L.P., as an acquaintance of Lenin, Trotsky, Plekhanov, Bukharin, Chernov, Martov, Dan, Kerensky, *et al.* The strength of this study flows from its rich detail, its many conversations and quotations, and its striving for objectivity. Its weaknesses are nevertheless many and grave. Lenin's philosophical and literary career is almost wholly ignored. His relations with Trotsky and Stalin are obscured and distorted. His passionate belief in the efficacy of ruthless power is emphasized and documented to the point of negating completely his equally passionate belief in human equality and social justice.

This mode of interpretation, currently ultrafashionable west of the "iron curtain," is exemplified in the selections from Lenin's writings in the appendix (labeled "Essentials of Leninism")—all of them undated and deliberately chosen to reveal Lenin as an amoral Machiavellian and to conceal Lenin as a crusader for

social reform. Shub's bias also permeates the text—*e.g.*, in his failure to mention the Bolshevik-Left S.R. coalition of late November, 1917; in his wholly partisan account of the Constituent Assembly; in his misleading version of the origins of the Red Terror; in his obscuring of the relationships in 1918 and thereafter between Menshevik Socialists, S.R. assassins, British spies, and White Terrorists; in his complete neglect of the Allied and American military assault on the new Soviet State; and in his consistent disposition to depict Lenin and his collaborators as deceitful, dishonest, and power-hungry while ignoring equally odious traits among their enemies, in Russia and abroad. The cumulative effect of these and other omissions and distortions reduces much of the narrative for the years after 1917 to a travesty on reality.

In short, this enormously useful and readable book falls far short of being a definitive biography. The evaluations of Mirsky and Vernadsky, it seems to me, were closer to truth. But truth is elusive. No ultimate judgment on Lenin is yet possible. Almost all judgments are pro-Leninist or anti-Leninist. Shub's is anti-Leninist, on a relatively high plane of probity. Genuine objectivity will become possible when Leninism and anti-Leninism can both be discussed in a context broader than either. Despite brave beginnings in this direction by Edward Crankshaw, Sir Bernard Pares, and the late Sir John Maynard, this time is not yet. Upon its ultimate advent depends not only the possibility of a valid estimate of Lenin but also, in all likelihood, the survival of contemporary civilization. David Shub has added much to our knowledge of Lenin's personal life. But his chapters contribute little to the prospects of life for mankind.

Williams College

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

A WANDERING STUDENT: THE STORY OF A PURPOSE. By Sir Bernard Pares. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press. 1948. Pp. xv, 448. \$4.50.)

It is seldom that the autobiography of a single man reads like a chapter in history, in fact, several chapters, even eras. Yet because of the close connection of the author with "the great and the near-great" of two nations during a period that included revolutionary changes in one of those countries, if not both, this story of the life and work of Sir Bernard Pares—and his intimate connection with the leading personalities of the Russian governments and armies, and also with those of the English nation, of which he was a bilingual native vowed to developing friendship between the diverse economies and social systems which he studied—must be regarded and judged from this standpoint.

As a detailed narrative of the years before World War I, the interwar period, and World War II and its aftermath, no other book by an American or an English author can approach the story of Sir Bernard, simply because no other man has had or could have the experiences that are described here. From his first years in college, when his lifework was thoughtfully and deliberately chosen, Sir Bernard,

often by means that were as surprising to himself as to the reader, found himself in the midst of the most important events, and responsible in part for some of the most decisive social and political changes that took place in Russia, and in her relations with England, her most important ally, and the source, until American lend-lease was adopted, of most of her military help from abroad.

It is impossible for a review to reflect in any detail the adventures, for such they were, that Sir Bernard experienced in his fifty years of living and studying in Russia, with only occasional side trips, though some lasted years, to his own land. For the picture that is drawn is that of Russia in the welter of social change, of revolution, of war twice repeated within thirty years, and of the reaction of the people whom he had come to know so well to the world-shaking events that were taking place around them, and in which they were so deeply involved. In a country so vast as Russia—and the author seems to have lived or traveled in every part of it, even the Arctic—conditions vary so greatly, the people are so diverse, and conditions changed so rapidly that anything like a complete picture of the period covered is impossible. Yet Sir Bernard, with his infallible instinct for the permanent, the truly Russian, elements in the huge melting pot that was and is Russia, has succeeded in giving a solid foundation of knowledge about the Russians, the country, and the forces that have made and are making for basic alterations in the life and outlook of the people. These alterations are tremendous in their scope and will take years to become fixed in a new form that will persist; yet as Sir Bernard points out, they are in the Russian tradition and represent only an evolution from earlier stages of development, which undoubtedly caused as great upheavals in the life of the people of the time as the Bolshevik Revolution, not the first fundamental one in Russian history, did later.

The reviewer, who has lived through many of the same experiences as Sir Bernard and has come to practically the same conclusions, especially about the future relations of the Soviet government with the rest of the world and the probable developments of the next few years, including the part to be played by the United States and England, can sum up only by stating that this is a unique volume, fascinating in its abundant detail of events and personalities, both Russian and British, and immensely rewarding to the reader who sincerely wants to know how and why the Russians act and react, what are their admirable characteristics and what their weaknesses; and how they can be expected to utilize their latest revolution in the long series, to help their country grow, to capitalize on their vast riches, natural and human, and keep the peace of the world, the goal, though it often seems otherwise, of their whole historic record. For an American, this book is invaluable; for it is written out of a long experience, an intimate association, with the people and the country, which, as said before, cannot be duplicated by any other man. That he is now accepted as an authority by scholars not only in his own country but also in the United States, where he has worked for so many years, and now resides permanently, is the inevitable result of his knowledge, his approach to

the complex subject of which he is the master, and his modest and almost deprecatory description of his own part in the events he describes. The result is a conviction on the part of the reader that here is a man who knows, and whose opinions and views are of vital importance to Americans who wish to chart a course for the future.

Stratford, Connecticut

ERNEST C. ROPES

Far Eastern History

OLD CHINA HANDS AND THE FOREIGN OFFICE. By *Nathan A. Pelcovits*. [Published under the auspices of the American Institute of Pacific Relations.] (New York: King's Crown Press. 1948. Pp. xi, 349. \$3.75.)

MOST writers on nineteenth century Anglo-Chinese relations, knowing that the primary British interest in China was commercial, have taken it for granted that Great Britain's China policies were largely influenced, even dictated, by the British merchants trading in China. After detailed examination of the original correspondence of Jardine, Matheson and Company, the Minute Books and correspondence of the China Association (London), unpublished materials of the British Board of Trade and Foreign Office, as well as of masses of published British documents, chamber of commerce reports and contemporary newspapers and periodicals, Mr. Pelcovits has come to the conclusion that "throughout the half-century following the Treaty of Tientsin, [British] merchants and officials were consistently and with few exceptions on opposite sides of the fence on most issues raised in Anglo-Chinese relations." Both were, of course, interested in the promotion of British trade in China, but they disagreed regarding the potentialities of Chinese foreign trade and the extent to which the Chinese government should be compelled to comply with the demands of foreign merchants.

To the British merchants engaged in the China trade—the Old China Hands—"it was the function of [their] government to open the whole of China as one vast Treaty Port, by force and an occasional 'little war' if necessary; to assume the responsibility (and imperial expense) of security for British persons and property throughout the Middle Kingdom, if need be by extending the King's Peace to the Yangtze; to assure British commercial predominance in China both against the dead-weight of Chinese obstruction and against foreign rivals."

The British Foreign Office, on the other hand, held the view that "the insignificant prospects of the China trade did not warrant the risks of forcing upon China those major administrative, fiscal, and industrial reforms which a unanimous mercantile opinion demanded." Nothing short of a British protectorate over China could insure the reforms and advantages desired by the merchants, and the British government considered that the costs of such an undertaking would far outweigh the benefits.

Mr. Pelcovits traces the history of the struggle between the Old China Hands and their government from 1861 to 1906, setting it against a background of the Anglo-Chinese relations of the period and documenting every phase with care and in detail. Greatest attention is paid to the two occasions when the China merchants succeeded in arousing chambers of commerce and other mercantile bodies in England to concerted support of their views. In the first case, the agitation was directed against the so-called "Clarendon Policy" of forbearance and gradual reform, which was symbolized in the minds of the merchants by the Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1869. In the second case, in 1898-99, the demand was for the establishment of a British protectorate over the Yangtze Valley to counteract the effects of Russian, French, and German efforts to secure exclusive spheres in China. In neither case was the British government persuaded that what the merchants wanted was in the national interest, and although the treaty of 1869 failed of British ratification, and Great Britain participated in the so-called "Scramble for Concessions" late in the 1890's, there was no real deviation from established policy.

By drawing upon hitherto unused materials, particularly from mercantile sources, Mr. Pelcovits has thrown new light upon the inner workings of nineteenth century British imperialism in the Far East.

Cornell University

KNIGHT BIGGERSTAFF

American History

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE UNITED STATES. By *Ralph H. Brown*, Professor of Geography, University of Minnesota. Under the Editorship of J. Russell Whitaker. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1948. Pp. viii, 596. \$7.50.)

HISTORIANS will have a special niche for this "survey of the character of American regions in earlier times" (p. iv), because it is not another geographic interpretation of history but a freshly conceived geography of the peopling of a continent. Each of the six main divisions is delineated by the interplay of its distinctive natural conditions and the character and technologic equipment of its pioneers. Hence each has its own terminal dates and its own areal bounds. Most of the chapters deal similarly with subregions of the larger areas. Within the chapters, the topics further stamp the study as geographic: natural resources, routeways, surface features, climate, and the related occupancy of the land; specific examples of settlements, as the product of various sorts of people and the natural conditions they learned to live with or ameliorate.

By confining the study to the period of settlement, more recent historical geography is omitted, at least in the important regions earliest occupied. This gap is only partially stopped by current geographies cited; to fill it would require a

second volume. By presenting specific small areas in detail, the geo-historical process is clarified, but coverage is not uniform, because sources are not always available or equally informative, as historians will be the first to realize.

An ingenious scheme of references makes it easy for scholars to trace the main sources used, while freeing the text from footnotes and thereby making it attractive to both the general reader and to the college student of American history, who will find it invaluable as supplementary reading. Any who care to test further the author's scholarship should refer to his *Mirror for Americans* (New York, 1943) covering the eastern seaboard about 1810.

The author's long study of past geography is stamped with a realistic sense of place and space by field studies he has made in many parts of the country. He gives just weight to beliefs about the land generally held in each period, whether true or false, because of their effect on both the direction and the rate of settlement. He holds well-grounded and sometimes surprising positions on certain mooted questions, e.g., the early-day evaluation of prairie land, the place of Indian agriculture in the settlers' farm practices, and the choice of Atlantic harbors.

The careful reader will feel the need of an atlas that shows basic features of terrain, climate, vegetation, and other aspects of the natural environment, because few of the maps provided by the author give more than the locations of places. Unfortunately, some of them cannot even be readily deciphered without a reading glass. This may be excusable for the old maps which must be reproduced on a reduced scale. It is unjustifiable for original or redrawn maps. These cartographic deficiencies are at variance with the author's other publications, and should not be allowed to detract from the judgment that his *Historical Geography of the United States* is a ground-breaker, by a mature scholar of geography, that will revitalize the border field in which it lies. The death of the author just as this volume appeared means a loss to the two disciplines, geography and history, which he has here synthesized so thoughtfully.

Harvard University

DERWENT WHITTLESEY

TRIUMPH OF FREEDOM, 1775-1783. By John C. Miller. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1948. Pp. xviii, 718. \$6.50.)

THE need for a new general history of the American Revolution, 1775-1783, has long been felt. The latest was Channing's, which appeared in 1912. (Van Tyne's *The War of Independence*, published in 1929, carried the story only to the spring of 1778.) Since then many unpublished documents bearing on the Revolution have been made available and scores of collections of correspondence and special studies in the field have been published. Miller, who has read widely and writes well, has drawn on this material to give a more rounded and vivacious account of the Revolution than we have had before. Of his thirty chapters, those on "Propaganda," "Radicals and Conservatives," "Crisis in England," and "Inflation

and Its Consequences" are particularly fresh and illuminating. In a number of cases, mistakes and injustices of earlier works have been corrected. Gates, conspicuously, receives more adequate and just treatment than he has heretofore enjoyed from general historians.

It is too bad Miller did not do similar justice to the other whipping boy of the Revolution, Charles Lee. It is impossible within the scope of a review, to indicate the evidence supporting a revision of the accepted picture of Lee's culpability at Monmouth; but Miller's statement that in November, 1776, Lee declined to move from his camp near Poughkeepsie (he was in fact at Phillipsburg, not near Poughkeepsie) "until he had spent several weeks in desultory correspondence with his Commander-in-Chief" (p. 152) is disproved by the correspondence of Lee and Washington from November 21 to November 30, 1776, published in the *Lee Papers* (II, 291-322) and Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Writings of Washington* (VI, 297-326).

Perhaps the most striking feature of the book is the account of Clinton's (the British Clinton's) foresight during the first two years of the war. Again and again he perceived Howe's and Cornwallis' carelessness or poor judgment, giving them sound advice which they failed to follow. Before the battle of Bunker Hill (p. 47); on the day of Bunker Hill (p. 48); before the American seizure of Dorchester Heights (p. 84); during the British advance towards Philadelphia after the fall of Forts Mifflin and Red Bank (p. 142); and before the British debacle at Trenton (p. 196), Clinton was apparently the one who saw ahead. I say "apparently," because the author fails to cite his evidence. Generals like statesmen can prove themselves superbly foresighted according to their accounts recorded *after* the event. The character of the documentation relied on, and here undisclosed, is vital to the validity of the account presented.

The reader is similarly tantalized throughout the book. Arrested by striking statements, he has no practical means of checking them, since the author not only omits footnotes but does not even afford a chapter by chapter list of sources. There is merely an extensive general bibliography.

The following examples from the first seventy pages are fairly illustrative: "'Brown Bess,' the musket employed in the British army," was a "surprisingly harmless weapon," the firepower of which was "little" dreaded by the Americans (pp. 5-6). "The early decay of the teeth of American women was often remarked by travelers in the colonies" (p. 19). Of the generals on the American side "who had prior military training, over half were Englishmen who had held commissions in the British army and subsequently settled in the colonies" (p. 20). Lord Sandwich, British First Lord of the Admiralty, said Americans were "the most treacherous, infamous, worthless race of men on earth" and that the more of them in the army the better, since the greater the number of such soldiers, the greater the rout would be (pp. 27-28).

"With the notable exceptions of Dr. Johnson and Edward Gibbon, most emi-

nent Englishmen [in 1775-76] were ranged against the government of Lord North" (p. 34). Even before Lexington and Concord, "children began to play, not at hunting Indians as had once been the pastime, but at mowing down British regulars" (p. 36). "As the British cautiously approached the village of Lexington, bullets were fired at them from houses on the outskirts" (p. 37). "Keppel, an admiral of the Whiggish persuasion refused to serve against the Americans; Whig peers when ordered to America threw up their commissions" (p. 44). "He [Howe] wanted, at least at Bunker Hill, to win his battles the hard way and, by deliberately courting difficulties, to make his victory over the rebels the more convincing" (p. 48). "Lord Rawdon estimated there were between fourteen and fifteen thousand Americans on Breeds Hill" (p. 52).

Quaker loyalists "were regarded by the patriots as Tories of a particularly dangerous and malignant type" (p. 55). The "practice of British spies disguising themselves in the costume of the Society of Friends" made the Quakers appear blacker than the facts warranted (p. 56). British "army leaders were not eager to share the glory of crushing the rebellion with 'colonials.' Sir William Howe, moreover, was reluctant to invite Americans to shed the blood of their fellow Americans" (p. 57).

Washington initially "belonged to the clique of Virginia aristocracy that supported the royal governor" (p. 62). "When the British Parliament attempted to tax Americans in 1765 . . . Washington emerged as a resistance leader. Casting off his earlier conservatism he now joined forces with the dissatisfied elements of the province," including Patrick Henry, the leader of the democratic westerners "whose aspirations to office Washington had always opposed" (p. 65). At the siege of Boston "Washington's second-in-command was General Charles Lee, an Irishman who, from the tender age of twelve years, had held a commission in the British army" (p. 69). The sketches of Lee and Ward in the *D.A.B.* say or imply that Lee was then third in command (Ward, second), was English, and was commissioned at the age of fifteen or sixteen.

The index shows evidence of undue haste. For example, De Grasse's name is not mentioned; the elder Adams was Samuel not Sam; Gates's defeat was not at Camden "New Jersey"; "General" Carleton and "Governor" Carleton are not different persons. Not much time and effort would have been required to supply the first names of Arbuthnot, Armand, Mrs. Armistead, Barras, Barré, Baum, Beaumarchais, Mrs. Biddle, Bonvouloir, Braddock, and Breyman (to go no farther than the A's and B's); an inspection of David Matteson's general index to the Fitzpatrick edition of Washington's *Writings* would have furnished most of them.

Triumph of Freedom 1775-1783 is an interesting work; but, because of lack of documentation, its authenticity is problematical and its value limited.

Chester, Connecticut

BERNHARD KNOLLENBERG

JEFFERSON AND HIS TIME. Volume I, JEFFERSON THE VIRGINIAN. By *Dumas Malone*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1948. Pp. xx, 484. \$6.00.)

THE fame of Jefferson, as Dr. Malone points out, "was dimmed toward the middle of the nineteenth century, when slaveholders tended to deride his sayings about human equality and Unionists to deplore his emphasis on State rights." It remained in eclipse until our own time when, probably as a result of liberal movements and the turn of the political wheel at home and the threat of totalitarianism abroad, it is probably greater "than it has been at any other time since his death." The fact may be significant that, of the three notable memorials to our greatest Presidents erected in the national capital, that to Jefferson was built last—though chronologically his administration came second.

The present work is the first volume of a projected four-volume biography. Though literally thousands of publications on Jefferson have been issued, this is the first detailed account of his life since Henry S. Randall's three-volume study appeared in the 1850's. A high point of interest in the subject is expected to be reached with the publication of the fifty-odd-volume edition of his papers (Princeton University Press), edited by Dr. Julian P. Boyd.

The major events of Jefferson's life, of which the first forty-one years are covered in the present volume, are too well known to need even a summary in this review. Jefferson's forebears, his school and college days, his career as a young lawyer and legislator, the building of his world-famed home and his marriage, the growth of his mind and the development of his philosophy, the part he played as a champion of colonial rights, his role in the Second Continental Congress and the framing of the Declaration of Independence, his far-reaching work in remaking his own "country," Virginia, his difficult term as governor, the tragedy of his wife's death, and the beginning of a new period of his life when he sailed for France in 1784—these successive topics are treated in detail. Three appendixes on genealogy, the Jefferson estate, and the Walker affair are followed by acknowledgments, a list of symbols and short titles used in footnotes, a select critical bibliography, and an index. There are seventeen illustrations.

The comment has frequently been made that Jefferson is difficult or even impossible to understand. After reading the present work, while the reviewer still does not feel that he fully understands him, he at least comprehends why he was so difficult to know. Jefferson made a sharp distinction between public and private matters. Regarding the former he expressed himself fully and freely, but regarding the latter he was extremely reserved. Was he ambitious? Did he suffer bitter disappointments? Was he elated over some success? If so, usually one has to discover the fact from a mere hint or chance phrase. He did not wear his heart on his coat sleeve. Probably the most severe blow that ever befell him was the death of Martha Wayles Jefferson, and yet the only statement he has left on the subject is in his account book: "My dear wife died this day at 11:45 A. M." In the words of Dr.

Malone, "His wife did not belong to posterity; she belonged to him." And so did his own private thoughts and feelings. Since Jefferson left blank certain sections of the book of his life, probably no writer can ever tell completely the story thereof.

Appreciating the difficulty of his task, Dr. Malone has sought to depict Jefferson in his historical setting. He has presented his subject, not as a static personality but rather as a constantly changing and developing figure though in a sense remaining continually the same. In one respect he never changed: to him "freedom of the mind was an absolute," and he never surrendered his belief in "enlightened liberalism."

The author, with long experience as a writer, editor, teacher, and student of American history and with many years devoted to the study of Jefferson (beginning when he was a member of the faculty of the University of Virginia, where, according to William Howard Taft, they "still talked of Mr. Jefferson as though he were in the next room"), is admirably trained and equipped to carry through successfully the arduous and difficult task he has set for himself. If the amount of material on his subject is vast, he has nevertheless worked through a very large proportion of it and has put it together and interpreted it in such a way that it is easily understandable and definitely readable. There is no pedantry or obscure involvement in petty detail. The work represents American historical scholarship at its very best.

North Carolina Department of Archives and History CHRISTOPHER CRITTENDEN

THE FEDERALIST, OR THE NEW CONSTITUTION BY ALEXANDER HAMILTON, JAMES MADISON, AND JOHN JAY. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by *Max Beloff*. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell; New York: Macmillan Company. 1948. Pp. lxxi, 484. \$2.25.)

OF making many editions of *The Federalist* there has been a notable revival. Federalism is in the air once more. Prior to 1937, the sesquicentennial of the Constitution, there had been in the United States alone over forty different editions and reprints of distinctive dates of *The Federalist*. Since then new editions have appeared under the editorships of Edward Mead Earle, Carl Van Doren, Charles A. Beard (not a complete edition), and now Max Beloff. Your reviewer had himself begun work on a critical edition that would make use of the now available historical materials on the origin, authorship, original text, influence, and subsequent history of the essays, only to learn that Professors Douglass Adair and Felix Gilbert had begun such an edition nearly two years earlier and were well advanced toward their goal. Such a critical edition is certainly much needed.

The Jacob Gideon edition of 1818 was the first to ascribe to James Madison the essays that he claimed to have written. The first carefully collated edition by a competent scholar, and one much neglected in recent decades, was that by Henry B. Dawson in 1863. He projected a two-volume edition but only the first was pub-

lished. This volume includes the complete original (newspaper) text of the essays and a historical introduction of about eighty pages. The latter alone represents a great deal of careful study. In the second volume Mr. Dawson had planned to print his notes on various "alterations and corruptions" of the text of the essays together with other matter pertinent thereto. Whether the manuscript was ever fully prepared is unknown. In October, 1890, Bangs and Company, the well-known New York auctioneers, listed in their sale catalog of Mr. Dawson's library a "bundle of MS. and cuttings, relating to the Federalist." If this material could be found, even now it might throw considerable light on various questions concerning the text, authorship, reception, and influence of the essays. In 1864 John C. Hamilton issued an edition that also incorporated the results of a great deal of study. Later editions by Henry Cabot Lodge and Paul Leicester Ford evidently built upon Dawson's and John C. Hamilton's editions. Edward Gaylord Bourne did valuable original and independent work on *The Federalist* prior to issuing his edition.

All other editions combined add very little to our knowledge of this famous work. Most of the editors have merely written new prefaces, inserted a few notes, and made minor changes such as improvements in the index.

The edition under review is different from others in several respects. (1) It carries a new title, *The Federalist or The New Constitution*. Beginning with the third American edition (1802) various editions were entitled *The Federalist on The New Constitution*. The change from *on* to *or* in the present edition is not explained. (2) The introduction, of some sixty pages, though not without errors and disputable points, is well worth reading, particularly for its discussion of the political theory of *The Federalist*. (3) The bibliography contains a rather serious error in dates, and reveals that the editor follows the John C. Hamilton edition of 1864 rather than the more carefully collated Dawson edition of 1863 for the text of the essays. (4) A number of notes at the end of the volume help to clarify various allusions and passages in the text. (5) There is no index. In short this edition is not the one for which scholars have been waiting.

University of Minnesota

WILLIAM ANDERSON

THE FEDERALISTS: A STUDY IN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY. By Leonard D. White, University of Chicago. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1948. Pp. xii, 538. \$6.00.)

SOCIAL and economic historians are likely in the future to pay more attention than they have to the rapid rise of the public services in the American free enterprise society, and to the parallel rise of the university study of public administration. The materials for the study of this phenomenon are, of necessity, largely historical. Almost every serious monograph and article in the field presents at least a brief historical introduction. It is, nevertheless, true that no one before Professor White

had undertaken a comprehensive history of public administration in the United States. His first volume, *The Federalists: A Study in Administrative History*, deals with only the national government and covers the years 1789 to 1801, the administrations of George Washington and John Adams. A second volume, now in preparation, will begin with the administration of Thomas Jefferson, and will pay attention to state as well as national administration.

The discussion first revolves about the problems of central management in the office of the President, but it proceeds also to the department and bureau levels and follows the flow of work out into the field and back again. The recruitment of personnel, the organization of departments, interdepartmental relations and conflicts, the relations of the executive branch and of particular departments with Congress, the getting and spending of money, the procurement of supplies, the development of administrative law—these are some of the many subjects that are developed. The volume is a mine of information on early administrative practices and difficulties. Its interest is heightened by the fact that there were very few precedents in British, state, or colonial experience for the building of a central administration. Ideas were needed, new ideas, and they came largely from the fertile mind of Alexander Hamilton. "It was Alexander Hamilton who first defined the term (public administration) in its modern usage and who first worked out a philosophy of public administration. His contribution was original, although his ideas were not congenial to many of his fellow countrymen" (p. 478).

Indeed, to Thomas Jefferson, a fellow cabinet member, not only Hamilton's ideas but his activities were quite uncongenial. The struggle between the two has often been told, but never so clearly in its administrative setting and with all its administrative implications. President Washington stands out above the contending partisans as an almost peerless administrator yet as one who did not accept even if he understood the role of the political party in administration.

Masterly in concept, painstaking in detail, based upon a thorough examination of the source materials yet written with simplicity and restraint, this account of public administration under the Federalists must inevitably command the attention and respect of historians as well as administrators. As a "first" in a new field it sets a high standard of scholarship and of modesty in generalization.

University of Minnesota

WILLIAM ANDERSON

JAMES MADISON, THE NATIONALIST, 1780-1787. By Irving Brant.
(Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1948. Pp. 484. \$6.00.)

THROUGH his endeavors during the critical period to form a more perfect Union, James Madison would have come close to deserving the title of Father of the Constitution, even if he had never attended the Constitutional Convention. Irving Brant, who closes the second volume of his Madison biography with that

Convention just in the offing, makes this clear; and he makes it clear also that in Madison's view the inadequacies of the Articles of Confederation were not mere figments of rich men's fancies but rather genuine defects which increasingly impeded the promotion of those national interests such as removing state tariff barriers, raising a revenue, redeeming the public credit and paying the army, which were among the objects of Madison's policy as a nationalist statesman. The flaws in the Articles Madison apprehended as the defects of a government without the power to govern.

This rather traditional emphasis may disturb those historians who, identifying nationalism with the Thermidorian reaction that set in toward the close of the critical period, explain the movement for a more perfect Union as an attempt of conservatives to outflank radicals and to recapture under the fiction of the sovereignty of the American people the position they had formerly occupied under the sovereignty of the British crown. Only Procrustes could fit Madison into this pattern of historical interpretation. Brant is no Procrustes. He leaves no doubt that Madison was a radical as well as a nationalist, and in some respects a more thoroughgoing radical than Patrick Henry himself.

In the Virginia legislature, where he resumed his seat in 1784 after four years' service in the Continental Congress, Madison took up Jefferson's project for the reform of the courts and laws and led in the struggle to carry it through. He supported Jefferson's measure for a free public school system. He led in thwarting the effort of Anglican aristocrats to have all Virginia assessed to support their church. Under the momentum of his victory in that conflict he "brushed the dust off Jefferson's 1779 bill for religious liberty, and pushed it to passage by an overwhelming vote."

In view of that record Madison could never deserve the name of a reactionary; nor does he seem to have surmised that his labors in promoting a more effective national government might be explained as a phase of reaction. He had always believed that one national sovereignty, not thirteen state sovereignties, had been the aim and result of the Revolution. Measures conducive to realizing that aim and securing that result he regarded as in the spirit of the Revolution; nor did he by any means consider them incompatible with a program of radical reform. Upon resuming his legislative career in Virginia he continued his efforts to strengthen the Union during the very years that he was engaged in reforming the state. The adroit way in which, with some setbacks, he continued to carry Virginia toward both goals at the same time and the democratic consistency he displayed in both endeavors Brant describes with an authority that should give pause to those who explain the movement for the Constitution as a conspiracy for imposing upon the many a discipline for the benefit of the few.

University of Buffalo

JOHN T. HORTON

FROM SLAVERY TO FREEDOM: A HISTORY OF AMERICAN NEGROES.

By *John Hope Franklin*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1947. Pp. xv, 622, xlii. \$5.00.)

THE literature of Negro history is voluminous. At its best, the trappings of scholarship lay a thin veneer over emotionalism. For the most part, the writings are sheer polemic. Negrophiles and Negrophobes have written extensively on the Negro in America, each assessing the Black Man's role in Western civilization in the light of the writer's emotional preconceptions. Negrophobes, from the pro-slavery defenders to recent opponents of civil rights programs, have variously asserted that the Negro is lacking in culture and in the capacity for it, is deficient in brain power, is devoid of martial courage and marital fidelity, is turbulent, inclined to crime, and economically incompetent. Negrophiles have returned indignant answers, making countercharges of white men's discriminations and oppressions, and offering evidence of Negro "contributions" and "achievements." On the whole, the literature of Negro history has been more acrimonious than edifying.

Into the melee, Dr. John Hope Franklin has brought a single competent, coherent volume which traces the history of the American Negro from his African background to World War II. With economy of space and a minimum of emotion-charged words, he brings together the conclusions of the best studies of African civilization, discusses the slave trade and the "seasoning" period in the Caribbean, explains colonial servitude, treats slavery in the Old South, the abolition movement, the Civil War and Reconstruction. He gives summary accounts of slavery in Latin America and of Negroes in Canada and in "America's Negro Empire." He devotes eight chapters to the Negro in the twentieth century, giving space to two world wars, to Harlem and its renaissance, and to Negro problems in an urban and industrial society.

The volume is restrained in diction, lucid in exposition. It is, indeed, a highly intelligent piece of overemphasis on the Negro's role in American history. Dr. Franklin implicitly gives an answer to the Negrophobes who doubt the Black Man's capacities. In the process, he pays excessive attention to slave insurrections and sometimes magnifies ordinary crimes into principled revolts. Frequently, too, he confuses fugitives from justice and from work with "protesters" against the slave "system." He fails to discuss slavery as an instrument of social control, and condemns it, almost entirely, on moral grounds. Moreover, he fails to consider that many of the "hardships" of slavery were probably more the result of necessary agricultural labor under frontier conditions than the product of the innate brutality of the slaveowners.

The overemphasis extends, too, to other areas than slavery. A discussion of African civilization is out of place in a history of American Negroes unless it can be demonstrated that the involuntary migrants carried significant portions of that culture with them. Moreover, the Negrophobes' silly charge that Negroes lack

martial prowess is hardly warrant for recounting long lists of individual deeds of valor in each American war. In addition to such heroic lists, there are others reciting recent "accomplishments" in sports, radio, theater, music and jazz. Such lists have the appearance of special pleading directed against the Negrophobic arguments.

Yet, despite such evidences of racial pride, and despite a tendency to accept interpretations of history most favorable to a racial line, the volume is the most competent, balanced, and scholarly summary of the Negro's role in America that has appeared.

University of Wisconsin

WILLIAM B. HESSELTINE

FREDERICK DOUGLASS. By *Benjamin Quarles*. (Washington: Associated Publishers. 1948. Pp. xi, 378. \$4.00.)

DESPITE the publication of three autobiographies by Frederick Douglass and three biographies, the scholar readily finds justification for a fourth study of this arresting personality. Autobiographies can obviously offer no objective analysis of motives, character, or achievements. The biography by Charles W. Chesnut (1899) is a mere sketch (141 pages), which can be dismissed without comment; the studies by Booker T. Washington (1906), and by Frederic May Holland in the "American Reformer Series" (1891) are based on wider search for materials and are more comprehensive, but the absence of documentation and of a serious bibliography (Holland has none and Washington lists twenty entries) exclude them from consideration as authoritative historical writing. Obviously there remained to be written a scientific study based on the methods of modern historical research. This the present work gives us.

Certainly Mr. Quarles could hardly have had a more striking, colorful, one might even say romantic, character to portray. A man whose life was packed at every turn with drama against the background of one of the most significant movements in American history, a man who despite his color rose by his own efforts and forceful personality not only to be the leading person of his race during the slavery period but to be recognized as an outstanding American; and an ex-slave who could count many prominent people in the British Isles as well as in the United States as his friends was no ordinary person.

The author traces his career from birth as a slave in Maryland to death in the national capital and to burial in Rochester, New York, where he spent many of his most active years. Almost by accident, for one feels that an agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society seized upon him after a brief and halting speech at a convention in Nantucket as a convenient means to dramatize the movement, he was launched upon the lecture platform. Unquestionably, whatever the merits of his maiden speech before an abolition group, he quickly developed marked

talent as a platform lecturer, in which capacity he constantly appeared until his death. The author devotes eighteen chapters to developing his career: as speaker in the antislavery cause; as editor of a weekly and, late in his journalistic career, of a monthly devoted to the same cause; as promoter of other reform movements, such as woman's rights and temperance; as participant in the Civil War by organizing Negro troops; as fighter during Reconstruction for political equality for the Negro; and as officeholder, culminating in the post of minister to Haiti.

The ample bibliography shows extensive research, the use of manuscript and printed sources, and contact with the few persons still living who knew Douglass. The work is fully documented; the index is adequate, and there are a number of fairly interesting illustrations, especially those showing Douglass at various stages in his career. The writer is able to achieve in general an impartial attitude, for he points out some of Douglass' weaknesses (pp. 197, 235, 242), though it must be indicated that he treats P. B. S. Pinchback, unsavory Negro aspirant to a seat in the national Senate from Louisiana, very gently. On the whole the book is well written, with some instances of happy phraseology. The effort to preserve the complete unity of subject within the chapter sometimes leaves the reader confused as to chronology. For instance, in chapter ix (p. 165) there is reference to Douglass' return to this country in May, 1860, though his second visit to England is not discussed until the following chapter. At least a footnote should have pointed forward to the chapter where that visit is discussed. Furthermore, a citation to the *Liberator* for March 15, 1843, seems to have little relevance to the text which discusses events of 1844 (pp. 33-34 and note).

The interpretation and evaluation of Douglass' influence seem essentially sound. The book leaves the reader, at least this reviewer, with a vivid realization of how the abolition crusade led many whites to cross the color line to a greater degree possibly than has been true at any other period of our history.

Goucher College

ELLA LONN

THE SOUTH OLD AND NEW: A HISTORY, 1820-1947. By *Francis Butler Simkins*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1947. Pp. xvi, 527, xx. Text \$4.50, trade \$6.00.)

THIS is, in many respects, a remarkable book for a Southerner to have written about the South. The author states at the outset that he does not attempt to present the contributions of the South to the history of the United States but rather "to trace the development of those political and social traits which makes the region . . . a cultural province conscious of its identity" (p. vii). For this purpose he starts with the year 1820 when the question of slavery first became a serious national issue, and he enumerates the three outstanding peculiarities of the section, in the order of their importance, as the "caste" system, religious orthodoxy, and the tradition of

the country gentleman. He detests the first of these traits, has little regard for the second, and the aristocratic tradition, though having certain merits, is backward-looking sentimentality. One would gather, therefore, that Professor Simkins does not consider the Southern heritage as especially worthy of preservation.

The advancement of the Negro race is apparently his main concern, yet President Lincoln, "who, by a subtle mixture of political trimming with moralizing in favor of national unity and freedom, rose from an obscure lawyer to become one of America's truly great statesmen" (p. 120), is not exactly a hero in his eyes. His inaugural address was "filled with double talk" and it is "likely that, with a subtlety approaching the diabolical, he provoked the Confederates into firing upon Fort Sumter . . ." (p. 131). Emancipation was a disappointment because "the blacks did not emerge from the war in a position to compel the whites to grant them social and economic equality, [hence] there were no solid foundations on which they could base claims of political equality." Therefore, Reconstruction "could not be adjudged successful . . ." (p. 223).

The author laments, as does the reviewer, the passing of the liberal Jeffersonian philosophy in favor of a largely Calvinistic orthodoxy, but he lays himself liable to misinterpretation when he says that informed persons "clinging to the Jeffersonian tradition, held that education should not be a function of the state . . ." (p. 270).

Professor Simkins thinks that the legend of the old South hindered the development of democracy, and that the upper-class Southerners who cherished it were characterized by the absence of intellectual interests; yet they had good manners and good morals, and they still dominated Southern society. Their mores stemmed from rural Virginia, they were never much interested in developing a provincial literature, and their "pure Anglo-Saxon racial and political ideas were rallying points for the unification of a nation of diverse origins" (p. 10).

Having defeated Radical Reconstruction and then having won this latter victory, the South was again victorious when Franklin Roosevelt "made what his liberal friends described as the most costly sacrifice of his entire political career . . . [and] allowed Vice-President Wallace to be shelved in favor of Harry S. Truman, a member of the Missouri political machine" (p. 482). Yet, in general, the North imposed its industrial way of life upon the new South without, however, undermining its adherence to caste, church, and tradition.

It is not likely that anyone, either North or South, will agree with all the attitudes of the author, yet this is one of the best of the recent books which deal with the Southern scene. It presents a wide range of information and a variety of judgments, though it seems to the reviewer to be somewhat lacking in careful analysis and consistency of approach. The chapters on Southern literature are among the most interesting in a work which is marked by comprehensive scholarship and good writing, but the statement that *Gone with the Wind* "blows like a cleansing wind over the areas of Southern fiction reeking of the stench of a whole

generation of naturalistic writers" (p. 354), is hardly indicative of the general tone of the volume.

University of Virginia

THOMAS PERKINS ABERNETHY

COLONEL DICK THOMPSON: THE PERSISTENT WHIG. By *Charles Roll*. [Indiana Historical Collections, Volume XXX.] (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau. 1948. Pp. xv, 315. \$2.50.)

MUCH is to be learned from the lesser figures in historical periods; they often reflect the atmosphere better than the principals. One such figure is that of Colonel Dick Thompson, who played a leading part in Indiana politics for many years and came to be a sort of institution.

Richard Wigginton Thompson was born in Culpeper County, Virginia, on June 9, 1809. He came of good stock, but a quirk of fate took him from his environment of central Virginia and bore him to other scenes and a different destiny.

Virginia, in the period of his early manhood, was in the throes of an economic crisis that carried thousands of its citizens to other states, among them Thompson, who arrived in Indiana in 1831. He soon took up the law and was admitted to practice in 1834. As was inevitable for a lawyer in those days, he entered politics (as an ardent Whig), and he remained a Whig all his days. It might be said that he was only incidentally a Republican. He was one of the thousands who regarded Henry Clay as a sort of god. No other man (except Bryan) has been so worshipped as Harry of the West.

Thompson took a prominent part in the campaigns of 1840 and 1848 which resulted in Whig victories. He opposed the war with Mexico. He was a member of the House of Representatives for several terms. He established a reputation as an orator second to few. He was exceedingly active both as an attorney and a politician.

The most significant fact about Thompson (emphasized by the author) is that when the Republican party came into existence in 1854, he refused to join it. Instead he remained a Whig so long as any trace of the Whig party remained. It was only when the Whig party was at an absolute end that Thompson reluctantly joined the Republicans. In 1860, he strongly supported Bell for the presidency. Once a Republican, however, he remained a faithful member of the party, becoming one of the old guard. He supported Blaine in 1884, when so many Republicans turned against that eminent statesman, and voted for all candidates down to McKinley in 1896. His most important post was as Secretary of the Navy in Hayes's cabinet, in which position he seems to have done well. He died in February, 1900, greatly regretted despite the fact that he was ninety years old.

Professor Roll is to be commended for an excellent piece of work. The book is compact and without padding, and yet it gives an admirable picture of the times in which Thompson lived and labored. His judgments are free from bias and gen-

erally accurate. All in all, the work is one of the best American biographies of recent years.

Richmond, Virginia

H. J. ECKENRODE

AMERICAN INTEREST IN CUBA, 1848-1855. By *Basil Rauch*, Assistant Professor of History, Barnard College, Columbia University. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Number 537.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1948. Pp. 323.)

THE statement by the author to the effect that this book originated in a paper written for the seminar of Professor Allan Nevins at Columbia University gives a clue to understanding it, as it is a series of papers in book form.

It is a pity that the knowledge of the Spanish language by Professor Rauch is so elementary; in choosing for his paper a topic in which Cuba and Spain were the chief factors, he should have been acquainted with a language in which so many important books have been written on the subject of Spanish-American relations regarding Cuba. Thus there are numerous misspelled names, for example, the eminent Cuban José de Arango, the correspondent in Havana for the American Philosophical Society (early nineteenth century), is always given as "Arangó" with the accent on the last syllable, a nonexistent family name in Spanish. The same thing may be said about a Club de los "Habañeros" instead of "Habanceros," the name of the Frías family with a French accent that we do not have in Spanish, the name of Plácido changed into "El Placido," the family name "Munoz" when it ought to be "Muñoz," and scores of other cases. The matter goes beyond the problem of good spelling into historical inaccuracy and outright misleading assertion when Mr. Rauch (p. 299), talks about "... the conspiracy of de Pinta," meaning the conspiracy led by Ramón Pintó.

Mr. Rauch pays me a nice compliment when referring to my two works *Narciso López y su época* (3 vols.), and *Historia de Cuba en sus relaciones con los Estados Unidos y España* (4 vols.), both of which have been very much relied upon by him, but, in spite of this, he does not yet know that my name is Herminio Portell (and) Vilá, and not Vilá alone. It may seem irrelevant, but if the English-speaking scholar, accustomed to the last name being the family name in English, is going to extend the practice to family names in other languages, then the Spanish-speaking scholar may call John Quincy Adams Mr. Quincy because for us that would be the first family name and not a middle name. Furthermore, if Mr. Rauch had read my *Historia de Cárdenas* (1928), and the chapters of Volumes II and III of my *Narciso López y su época*, published by *Revista Bimestre Cubana*, *Carteles* and the magazine *Universidad de La Habana*, he might have saved many mistakes appearing in his book.

Mr. Rauch goes astray in his account of the Cuban factions (1848-1855), and even invents a name for a whole chapter, calling it "The Bahía Honda

Expedition: 1851," when the expedition never reached Bahía Honda but landed at Playitas, many miles west of Bahía Honda. At times he makes the most positive statements without quoting any source for them and winds up the paragraph quoting something from me at the end, not a good scholarly practice because it makes me appear to back up everything in the paragraph when that is not true.

Where did Mr. Rauch get the information that no one in Cárdenas joined López? I have conclusively proved that many did and even gave their names and other biographical data. The chapter about Quitman and Cuba could not be written without reading his correspondence with Juan Manuel Macías, P. Valiente, R. Pintó, and the rest of the Cubans who were associated with him, and this correspondence is here, in Cuba.

There is no question that Mr. Rauch has worked assiduously on some of the chapters in his book, but the results are uneven and there is a certain lack of maturity and poor selection of criteria in the use of the sources. His book might be the basis for "the book" about López and his expeditions, and for "the book" about Quitman's schemes, each of which has yet to be written in English.

I cannot close without taking again into consideration the "acknowledgments" made by Mr. Rauch in which he refers to Professor Nevins. Did Professor Nevins approve of this book? Does he think that it fills the high standards of Columbia University in the field of American history? The professor directing a thesis and approving it for publication ought first to be acquainted with the subject, enough at least to check patent errors of the student.

University of Havana

HERMINIO PORTELL VILÁ

THE DISRUPTION OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY. By Roy Franklin Nichols. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1948. Pp. xviii, 612. \$7.50.)

IN this book Professor Nichols provides a historical magnifying glass through which one can take an uncustomary look at Democratic party politics the five years before the American Civil War. He has dug up as much material about the issues and leaders of the party battles of that critical half-decade as has any recent explorer of that wilderness of political thorns and thistles. The author employs his kaleidoscopic knowledge skillfully, provocatively, and with useful educated guesses about the moving causes of the fission of the Democratic party that preceded and, he thinks, precipitated the call to arms.

He makes appallingly clear the high price the country paid in the years Buchanan was in the White House, because of the lack of any really binding tie among the Democratic parties in the states and regions. Had there been such a tie, secession probably would not have come.

The present volume in a sense carries forward the author's earlier study, *The Democratic Machine: 1850-54*, and other observations he has made of the political fauna of that period. It is happily free from proliferation of detail just to show the

spadework of research. The material is presented so suavely (and occasionally, excitingly) that the reader isn't confused by its mass and heterogeneity. Thus Professor Nichols successfully presents his picture of conditions and trends that led to the collapse of "American Democracy." He also offers considerable data to sustain his belief that the resulting political vacuum brought on the war.

Dr. Nichols' title use of the term, "American Democracy," is in the narrow, special, and ephemeral meaning it had in the years from Jackson to Buchanan, when it was just another label for the National Democratic party. In recent decades this same phrase has been employed to describe the polity and society of the United States, and it sometimes calls for an act of will to turn back to the earlier intentment. Yet it is true that in the 1850's the term was used to characterize the Democratic party organizations. It is this indifferently knit conglomerate of Democratic party groups, factions, machines, and mischief whose "disruption" the author examines with such rewarding care.

A perennial question about the Civil War is whether it was, as claimed, an "inevitable conflict." While the author avoids a categorical declaration on this moot point, he does offer "clues" to the emotional stresses, strains, and explosions that not only blocked the great thoroughfares of compromise but also barricaded the paths by which contact could be kept. His bill of particulars about the breakdown is quite wide and often clairvoyantly deep. He combed the massive collections of politicians' papers, but this was just the beginning. Having shrewd hunches of memorabilia just around the corner, Professor Nichols revolved over twenty-six states seeking the reasons why American Democracy in Old Obliquity's day fell apart like the one-horse shay. He found plenty of historical gold in "them thar hills," and has refined and fashioned it well.

These discoveries and analyses convinced him that the real riddle is: Why a civil war? He points out, and quite correctly, that most "causes" historians blame for the war existed in other times and places—but without evoking war. Yet in the United States in 1860 they did bring one on. "People fight under the stress of hyperemotionalism," he declares. His "clues" lead to the identification of component emotions that erupted. The juvenility of the republic resulted in what Machiavelli terms the "confusion of a growing state." Population was mounting rapidly, with natural increase, potato-famine immigration from Ireland, Forty-eighters fleeing from the counterrevolution over Europe. The rate of growth was great, but ununiform; there was ceaseless coming in and moving out all over the country; the society gave signs of upheaval of ideas and attitudes. Change became the cock of the walk.

The Young Americans of George N. Sanders type waged politics with pistols at dawn; they "loved" politics in all its aspects but couldn't comprehend that their very enjoyment of its putsches and perquisites was dangerous to their country. Professor Nichols suggests that they oversimplified the federal system by deeming it political only, and ignoring the "cultural federation of attitudes" upon which

the polity rested. Elections were innumerable, campaigners unrestrained, and there were thirty-three independent state systems of election. The parties in each state had national names—Democratic, Whig, American, Republican, etc. Even so, they were really independent, each a law unto itself and not subjected to much if any central direction.

One of the great disruptive factors, the author points out, was the baneful influence of elections almost continuously in process, campaigns never over, unceasing political uproar. This constant agitation he deems one of the primary clues to why war came. The real problem wasn't so much to maintain a balance between states, but to quell the passions among men and women in the same neighborhood. Oratory roused their temperatures to fighting pitch. The Democratic leaders knew some of these dangers; particularly Stephen A. Douglas, whose victorious 1858 campaign in Illinois showed a capacity for national leadership Professor Nichols inadequately recognizes. No other Democratic leader brought forward an adequate formula for national action. The Southern hotspurs forbade the Little Giant's nomination. Then after presenting the presidency to Lincoln, they forced secession and lit the fuse for civil war. "The war," says the author, "was the product of the chaotic lack of system in ascertaining and directing the public will, a chaos exploited . . . by irresponsible and blind operators of local election machinery." It is a just and awful verdict.

Buffalo, New York

GEORGE FORT MILTON

THE VALLEY OF SHADOWS. By *Francis Grierson*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1948. Pp. xlii, 278. \$3.50.)

A REMARKABLE book by an extraordinary man. Francis Grierson spent his childhood and early boyhood "in the heart of Lincoln's country," in Sangamon County and at Alton in Illinois; in 1859 the family crossed the Mississippi to St. Louis where they remained until Francis passed his fourteenth birthday. In Europe as a very young man he found all doors open because of his amazing gifts for improvisation at the piano. Music, literature, and public speaking made his subsequent career. This volume is his master work. He told a friend that he spent ten years upon it, and that he "was nearly two years waiting for the proper mood to write the portrait of Lincoln . . ."—a statement which tends to explain how its composition required a decade. This handsome edition, with the editorial note by Bernard DeVoto and the biographical introduction by Theodore Spencer, is by far the best. The original publication was in 1909. Only Sandburg among Lincoln writers appears to have taken note of it.

Grierson was beyond fifty when he set himself to recall these "scenes and episodes" of his early years. We meet a boy who loves the prairies and the mighty river. Observant, sensitive, meditative, he lay wakeful through "the haunting hush of the silent nights," for whom Indian summer was the favorite season, and who

reveled in beauty as in the morning glory that framed the cabin door. Time might erode these memories but could not efface them. Young as he was he divined vaguely the coming of the clash between slavery and abolition.

The author paints a small gallery of unforgettable portraits: Elihu Gest, whose "presence diffused a mysterious influence"; Isaac Snedeker, the intrepid slave-runner; the "lump of hewn adamant" called Socrates; Kezia Jordan, whose face while she sang changed "as the memories came and went like shadows of silent wings over still, clear waters." Beautiful scenes are sketched, as the log-house home; stirring scenes, as the slave hunt, the prairie fire, the torchlight parade; scenes amusing and pathetic, as the camp meeting. The major portion of the volume is dominated by Donati's comet, blazing in the sky, a wonder and a warning to the pioneers, and by Abraham Lincoln. The preacher names him at the outset as the coming deliverer. He is mentioned at intervals, and then we meet him face to face with Douglas at the last of the seven debates of 1858. Only seven pages in that chapter, but the contrasts are vivid and the portraits are "right"; few readers will fail to feel the power of that scene. This is the climax. Other chapters follow, and the St. Louis incidents are well told in a somewhat different style, but the work might fittingly have ended here.

Boston, Massachusetts

F. LAURISTON BULLARD

GETTYSBURG. Edited by *Earl Schenk Miers* and *Richard A. Brown*. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1948. Pp. xviii, 308. \$3.50.)

AFTER eighty-five years of words about the battle of Gettysburg the authors surprisingly bring forth a new look. From a mass of personal accounts they weave a fascinating fabric. Not only do they compliment the reader by offering him the chance to be the evaluating historian but they present through other eyes a tale absorbing to anyone having a yen for our flaming past. Although the excerpts are cut from secondary sources mainly, although the point of view is switched at times bewilderingly and some editorial cement is a bit crumbly, the story amazingly proceeds, lives, and arrests.

From this seat there appears only one major misjudgment. It is after Haskell expresses his opinions of the state of mind of the Union soldier and the lack of confidence in the high command. There the authors stop the narrative with a tepid defense of Hooker. They recall an unfinished controversy, leave Hooker worse off than before and make a digression *ab ovo*. It might have been happier, when on July 3 Longstreet bettered Lee in the estimate of the situation, to have substituted for the Hooker space some pertinent extract, say from Freeman, to bolster Lee. Such treatment would have had the advantage of keeping the narrative going and objective; also fortifying and balancing the climax.

There could be minor criticisms such as "strategy" on the battlefield and a reference to a Brady photograph which is absent. But the very paucity of tares serves

to emphasize the merit of the book. From the nervous jottings of Sallie Broadhead to Major General Warren, the savior of the battle, sleeping unconcernedly during the supreme council of war, the events pour forth as the beholders saw them or felt they saw them.

Of course there will be sticklers who will question the wisdom of putting historical evaluation up to the average reader. However, a close analysis of the conception and development of the work reveals nothing to be lost and something gained. The authors candidly state they are not attempting a history of a piece of warfare, although the movements and topographical features are faithful. The swift glimpses, ingeniously selected and compacted, form a tale of human reactions, emotions, deeds, and impressions, from which we gain a comprehension of the impact upon body and soul of those furious twistings and clashes. In this daring project the authors have succeeded admirably.

Sarasota, Florida

WILLIAM ADDLEMAN GANOE

REBEL RAIDER: BEING AN ACCOUNT OF RAPHAEL SEMMES'S CRUISE IN THE C.S.S. *SUMTER*: COMPOSED IN LARGE PART OF EXTRACTS FROM SEMMES'S MEMOIRS OF SERVICE AFLOAT, WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1869. Selected and Supplemented by *Harpur Allen Gosnell*, Lieutenant Commander, U.S.N.R. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1948. Pp. 218. \$3.75.)

RAPHAEL Semmes, the chief Southern naval figure of the War between the States, was vigorous and decisive on the plane of action, as sparing of waste motions as a plunging falcon. But when he put pen to paper he became orotund, verbose, a chronicler determined to wring his subject dry of all its possibilities, a hobbyist who brought in extraneous topics, and a man who reveled in the sentimental attitudes of his period. Semmes's *Memoirs of Service Afloat* (1869) was primarily the record of his brilliant deeds as a raider in the converted steam packet *Sumter* and the cruiser *Alabama*. His discussions of the rightness of the Southern cause, maritime law in time of war, the science of oceanography, etc., swelled it to a mighty tome.

Confining himself to the cruise of the *Sumter*, Mr. Gosnell has pruned away the unessential material and freed a story that has the swift excitement of an adventure classic. Notes and comments have been interpolated to clear up doubtful points. Semmes's early activities are covered in a short chapter, and at the end there is a summary of his later career. The result is a volume of some two hundred pages that the student of history and the general reader will both enjoy.

The *Sumter* ran the blockade at the mouth of the Mississippi on June 30, 1861, escaping the pursuit of the sloop-of-war *Brooklyn*, which had the speed of her but was less adroitly handled. On the fourth day a United States clipper ship was captured and burned. Seventeen other prizes, most of them small, were taken during

a six-months' voyage through the West Indies, down the South American coast to Maranhão, Brazil, and across the Atlantic to Gibraltar. Of these only six were destroyed. Two were released on ransom bonds because they carried cargoes belonging to neutrals. Unsuccessful attempts were made to intern the remaining nine in a Cuban port, or to send them to Dixie with prize crews.

It was a good haul, but not to be compared with the sixty-six merchant ships and one man-of-war bagged by the *Alabama* in two years, after the crippled *Sumter* had been laid up at Gibraltar and sold. The importance of Semmes's first foray lay in the fact that it served notice that the North's sea-borne commerce was not safe from attack, scared hundreds of craft into lying idle at their docks, and created a technique that was to be developed to an extraordinary height of efficiency by Confederate cruisers, of which the *Alabama* was the indisputable star.

Despite what has been said about Semmes's literary style, he had his great moments. Note in particular his description (chapter III) of the burning of the *Golden Rocket*, a word picture that is quoted in the two existing full-length biographies of him.

New Orleans, Louisiana

W. ADOLPHE ROBERTS

ECONOMIC POLICY AND DEMOCRATIC THOUGHT: PENNSYLVANIA, 1776-1860. By *Louis Hartz*, Assistant Professor of Government in Harvard University. With a Foreword by Benjamin F. Wright, Professor of Government in Harvard University. [Studies in Economic History, prepared under the direction of the Committee on Research in Economic History, Social Science Research Council.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1948. Pp. xv, 366. \$4.00.)

THIS volume furnishes a useful corrective to the belief that government intervention in economic affairs in the United States was a development of the present century by describing the great variety of such activities pursued by one of the states during the period between the Declaration of Independence and secession and the economic and political theories by which these activities were justified or opposed, or which developed from them.

The material of chapters on the "State as Regulator," particularly the sections on such social reforms as the abolition of slavery, indentured servitude, and imprisonment for debt, and the establishment of factory legislation and mechanics' lien laws, while indispensable to the subject, will be in the main familiar, though the detailed treatment is valuable.

The distinctive feature of the volume is the treatment of "The State as Promoter and Entrepreneur," tracing the state's participation in economic affairs from (1) its chartering of corporations, through (2) its investment with private capitalists in "mixed corporations" (cf. "The First and Second Banks of the United States"), to (3) state ownership of the Main Line, and finally (4) the liquidation both of the

actuality and ultimately the theory of public ownership through the sale of the Main Line to the Pennsylvania Railroad.

That political alignments then as now were confused by sectional and other interests, and theories readily modified by current situations, is revealed by the appearance of such conservative capitalists as Nicholas Biddle in the camp of the "radicals" of public ownership—desire for east-west transportation leading to support of whatever agency was most likely to supply it, in this case, the state—and by the accusations of "socialism" mutually exchanged by the anticharterite supporters of public ownership, who accused corporations of infringing on "individual enterprise," and by the defenders of chartered corporations. The issue of public ownership was finally resolved by the state's financial embarrassment in the early 1840's and the coincidental emergence of corporations capable of supplying an effective transportation system.

This volume exemplifies how usefully several related disciplines can be applied to the understanding and exposition of a particular problem.

Houston, Texas

KENNETH WIGGINS PORTER

THE BRIGHT-TOBACCO INDUSTRY, 1860-1929. By *Nannie May Tilley*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1948. Pp. xiv, 754. \$8.00.)

THIS full and flavorful account of the growth, marketing, and manufacture of flue-cured tobacco is by the director of the manuscripts department of the Duke University Library. The study was suggested by the late Professor William K. Boyd, cherished in the memory of all who knew him, and profited by the assistance of Professor Charles S. Sydnor and the financial help of the Hayes Foundation, of which Dr. Curtis Garrison was long the director. Under these circumstances unusual ingenuity and industry in exploring sources and interpreting a mass of material was to be expected, but Miss Tilley has outdone herself and her sponsors. Every student who has worked in an allied field must be admiring of the dragnet the author has thrown and welcome her large haul. She has made a rewarding contribution to American economic history in a subject where little collected and systematic information was available.

The "Old Bright Belt," which has since extended south and west, comprised less than two score counties in the middle border of Virginia and North Carolina, Danville being the geographical and chief commercial center. The yellow leaf, with low nicotine and exceptionally low nitrogen content, is mild and sweet, thus best adapted to cigarette manufacture particularly. It is one of the few blessings of poverty, for its qualities, aside from dexterity in curing, are owing to infertile soil. Since bright tobacco occupies first place in the economy of this region, Miss Tilley's history is a study of the life of the people. She knows thoroughly their capacities and disabilities. A revealing view of the latter is in the true causes of failure of the Tri-State Tobacco Growers' Cooperative in the twenties. In spite of

able promotion and adequate financing this and other efforts of the tobacco farmers to keep for themselves more of the value of their product ended in disappointment largely because of poor education, time prices, tenancy, and lack of experience in organized social effort. Opposition of speculative interests was virulent but secondary in fatal effect.

In her analysis of marketing of the leaf, particularly, the author shows admirably not only the complicated nature of the processes but the changes in practice which have occurred over the period. The same is true in her story of the concentration of manufacture. Had she added developments since 1929 she might have done so briefly because she has laid in the background with such perfect care.

Though the near-helplessness and confusion of the tobacco farmers is distressing, the book ends on a pleasant note when Miss Tilley shows how the lean kine have devoured the fat kine, or how much of the wealth wrung from poor land and people has come back in philanthropy and the stimulation of varied industry.

Rutgers University

BROADUS MITCHELL

CONSULAR RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE PAPAL STATES: INSTRUCTIONS AND DESPATCHES. Edited with Introduction by *Leo Francis Stock*. [American Catholic Historical Association Documents, Volume II.] (Washington: American Catholic Historical Association. 1945. Pp. xxxix, 467. \$5.00.)

THIS second volume of the documentary publications of the American Catholic Historical Association supplements the first, published in 1933, which contained the instructions and correspondence of the ministers of the United States at the pontifical court, 1848-1868. Both have been edited by Dr. Stock.

The present volume publishes, with index, the correspondence of the eleven consuls of the United States at Rome from 1797 to 1870; a much less extensive correspondence of the U. S. consuls at Ancona, 1840-1860; and a list of the three consuls at Ravenna, 1844-1852. It also contains what little correspondence of the pontifical consuls in the United States the editor could find. In an introduction Dr. Stock provides a historical setting and calls attention to the bearing of the documents on certain historical questions.

The consular service of the United States in the nineteenth century was at best irregular and ill paid, but the consuls at Rome were in a particularly difficult position. There was only a trickle of commerce between the United States and the Papal States, and for year after year no U. S. merchantman entered a papal port. The clients of the consul at Rome were not businessmen but American tourists and sojourning American artists. For a long time the only income from the consul's office (which he had to rent at his own expense) consisted of fees, chiefly for visas on passports. His protégés indignantly objected to paying these, but expected him to furnish as their right all kinds of services—the procurement of admissions to

museums and galleries, the location of lodgings, the purchase of tickets, the arrangement of audiences with the pope—which cost the consul not only time but sometimes money. The difficulties of this situation are the subject of much of the correspondence. Naturally it has little to say about trade or economic conditions. When the crises of the Italian Risorgimento occurred, the consuls reported them, sometimes voluminously. Their emotions were deeply engaged, generally on the side of the liberal and revolutionary elements. Their reports are those of bystanders, and the men whom the United States could afford to appoint as consuls at Rome were seldom of a type to whose judgment much weight can be given. There are two exceptions: the reports on Garibaldi's invasion of the Roman State in 1867, which Edwin C. Cushman observed in the field, and D. M. Armstrong's letter of September 23, 1870, describing the seizure of Rome by the Italian army on September 21.

The chief merit of the two volumes is that taken together they document as far as it has been possible to do so the official relations between the United States and the Pontifical States prior to our own time.

Washington, D. C.

KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD

POSTWAR YEARS: NORMALCY, 1918-1923. By *Frederic L. Paxson*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1948. Pp. 401. \$6.50.)

FEW American historians beside Professor Paxson would undertake a volume on four such years of cross purposes, frustration, and confusion as the years from 1919 to 1923. None of them could accomplish the task with a surer and defter touch than he demonstrates in the current volume. The balance, the skill with which the various threads of the narrative are woven together are what one would expect. It is a book for the general reader of good taste as well as for the classroom.

Professor Paxson's version of the tragedy of Wilson at Versailles and after follows the generally accepted norm. He does not accept Baker's thesis of the sinister alliance of House and Balfour; Wilson's break with House remains as much a mystery as it was to House himself.

Professor Paxson has no ready-made thesis as to the reasons for the failure of the treaty before the Senate and before the American people. He suggests the Irish vote as the reason for the overthrow of the Democrats in 1920 while, at the same time, he considers that that election was far from a fair trial of strength between the advocates and opponents of the treaty. His book, provocative in suggestion, suggests to the present reviewer the possible interpretation that Wilson's dominating will had committed the American people to theories of world order which they understood as little as most people understand theories and that when they saw those theories translated into the League of Nations they recoiled instinctively.

Noticeable is the restraint with which Professor Paxson treats the Harding administration and the Harding Congress. He depicts it on the background of a

restless America in the midst of change and uncertainty. Price controls, wartime inflation, postwar deflation, made sharp alterations in the levels of wages and prices, especially depressing agricultural prices in comparison with others. Unemployment as a problem began. Strikes, labor violence, the dissemination of radical ideas, contributed to the unrest. One reaction was the witch hunt after what a Third Army order once denominated "Bolshevism tendencies." The farm bloc had its beginning. The Harding Congress was completely at cross purposes and Harding and his associates suffered a reverse in the election of 1922. The book closes with an admirably written chapter that sums up the tragedy of Harding as an easygoing man who chose his friends badly and trusted them too much and whose death came just at the time when he was attaining the stature of a statesman. On the scandals of Harding's private life Professor Paxson dwells but lightly.

Additional points of interest are the appraisal of sport and its share in American life, the development of the movie, the dawn of radio, and the revolution brought about by the low-priced automobile and the national network of hard roads. One chapter, entitled "New Federalism," concerns the attempts of the states to deal jointly with various problems of common concern such as water power and river control.

University of Illinois

THEODORE C. PEASE

THIS WAS NORMALCY: AN ACCOUNT OF PARTY POLITICS DURING TWELVE REPUBLICAN YEARS, 1920-1932. By *Karl Schriftgiesser*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1948. Pp. x, 325. \$3.00.)

Mr. Schriftgiesser, who set a relatively high journalistic standard in his recent biography of Henry Cabot Lodge, continues to write in an informed and entertaining manner in *This Was Normalcy*. While he adds little in the way of facts or interpretations to the existing literature save for those available in the latest biographies and published letters, he surpasses Mark Sullivan, Frederick Allen, and S. H. Adams in political sophistication and inclusiveness regarding the party battles of the 1920's. Undergraduates, if not their instructors, should find this an effective introduction to the politics of the era.

Unfortunately, the author has marred his narrative by a treatment which is restricted to the contrasting colors of black and white. Thus Harding, if possible, sinks even lower, Coolidge is stupid (except in 1928 when he possesses a keen Yankee insight), Dawes is "the first of many neo-fascists," Charles E. Hughes by 1930 "had travelled a long way from liberalism," and President Hoover's methods of dealing with the depression were merely "do-nothing" or completely reactionary. He misinterprets Wesley Mitchell's theory of business cycles as largely a complacent idea that depressions were inevitable and seems unaware of Hoover's efforts as Secretary of Commerce to stabilize business.

If the author's purpose, as expressed in his foreword, was "an accurate account

of Republicanism triumphant and the effect of this triumph upon the American people," then it falls far short because the book deals largely with the personalities in the three elections of 1920, 1924, and 1928, though they are dealt with on a broad canvas. The narrative seldom strays from the presidency, the nominating conventions, and Washington, D. C., though this aspect is rather effectively done with a journalistic flare for the interaction of personalities, places, and situations. Most lacking is any thorough discussion of the underlying economic problems of the period, except for a hasty partisan indictment written in the spirit of an election year. Still, the author makes it clear that if the Republicans were scarcely entitled to "point with pride" to their record in the 1920's, neither was the Democratic leadership such as to wholly justify them in "viewing with alarm" the policies of their opponents.

Western Reserve University

HARVEY WISH

PAPERS RELATING TO THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE, 1919. Volume XII. [Department of State Publication 2337.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1945. Pp. xxix, 736. \$2.00.)

THIS twelfth volume concludes the notable thirteen-volume series, in *Foreign Relations of the United States*, of the State Department records of the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, successive volumes of which have been belatedly published since 1942. The delay in publication is not due to the lack of desire on the part of the Department of State and its official editors, nor to the absence of importunity on the part of scholarly organizations in the United States, including the American Historical Association, which has been petitioning the Department for some years to complete the American published record. The real reason for the delay is a curious rule of comity, scrupulously followed by our government and not too much observed by other governments, namely, that we will not publish diplomatic correspondence with a friendly power without a reciprocal release of such material from the official archives. That the rule was a very Pickwickian sort of regimentation was proved by the strategy resorted to by the initiator and propulsor of this publication, the late Mr. Cyril Wynne, then chief of the Division of Research and Publications. To get the necessary releases, he convinced the governments concerned that they should not object to the United States publishing its record of the Peace Conference because they themselves (without even consulting the United States in most instances) had already published here and there such a large part of their own records!

The present series is a monument to Wynne's persistence, for which scholars in many disciplines, particularly in history and in international law, may be finally grateful. Once cleared and announced by Mr. Wynne in 1938, the series has been carried to completion with reasonable speed (considering the intervention of the

Second World War) by his successor, Dr. E. Wilder Spaulding, under the immediate direction of Dr. E. Ralph Perkins. The last volumes to be published issue after the split-up of the Division of Historical Research and Publications into a Division of Publications, under Dr. Spaulding, and a Division of Historical Policy Research, under Dr. G. Bernard Noble. Volume XII consists of reports from the field missions sent out from Paris to get information on the spot for the guidance of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace: to Austria, the Baltic Provinces, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Montenegro, Poland, and former Turkish territories. Members of the American Historical Association will be pleased to mark therein the early distinctions of *confrères* and to realize what an important part fellow-historians played in helping to survey the panorama of destruction and political confusion left in the wake of the war on the continent of Europe. In addition to the masterly reports from Central Europe by the dean of those academic observers, Professor Archibald Cary Coolidge, who received particular citation from the Peace Commission for his dispatches, one notes from the signatures or in the content of this material such familiar names as Philip Marshall Brown, Walter E. Bundy, Robert J. Kerner, Robert H. Lord, Lawrence Martin, Samuel Eliot Morison, Nicholas Roosevelt, C. M. Storey. One might almost be tempted to dub this volume the Reports of the Professors.

The principal American records of the Paris Peace Conference now remaining to be published are the voluminous minutes of the many commissions or committees (also full of budding or full-blown historians) attached to the American delegation. We are led to believe, by the official press release accompanying the publication of this last volume in the Foreign Relations series for the Paris Peace Conference, that this still unpublished material, amounting to ten or a dozen more volumes, will soon be made available for scholars.

Yale University

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS

PAPERS RELATING TO THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1931. Volumes I and II. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1946. Pp. cix, 961; cxvi, 1082. \$2.75, \$3.00.)

WHEN Arnold Toynbee called 1931 the *annus terribilis* of the postwar era, most of us did not realize how weak the German republic was, or how ineffectual American and European efforts for peace continued to be, or, on the brighter side, how much our relations with Latin America were improving. We learned those things by their consequences well before this publication. Now we may trace some of the particular steps in policy respecting naval limitation, the Hoover moratorium, and political disturbances in Chile, Cuba, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua. We read with shame of the shooting of two Mexican students in Oklahoma, and with satisfaction of the government's refusal to intervene in Nicaragua. Editorial work is of the usual high standard.

Since 1931 many of the major documents have been published elsewhere. Mr. Stimson himself often used Toynbee's *Survey of International Affairs* "in later years when he had occasion to consider the events of his service as Secretary of State" (*On Active Service in Peace and War*, p. 190 n.). A wartime selection of papers (1943) skimmed the cream from the Far Eastern correspondence for 1931-41, which is continued at the usual pace in the third volume of papers for 1931 (reviewed in *American Historical Review*, LII [January, 1947], 328-29). As with most earlier parts of the annual series, one wonders whether these might not have been published earlier without injury to the national interest. Mr. Byrnes and Mr. Churchill have told us more about American foreign relations of the forties than we are learning from our own government about American foreign relations of the early thirties.

The thorough historian will want to go beyond the published official series, no matter how wise the selection. If he cannot wait for the Department of State to show him what has been omitted, he may find much of it, and more significant material as well, in the Hoover papers at Stanford and in the Stimson papers and diary (eleven bound volumes of diary for the period from September, 1930, to March, 1933). Stimson has quoted from two documents which suggest what else we may have missed: a memorandum of a conversation with Bruening, July 26, 1931, and a memorandum of a conversation with Laval, October 23, 1931 (*On Active Service*, pp. 272, 274).

If this useful series is being delayed because of expense, the Department of State might do well to consider a microfilm series, which could be fuller and cheaper. However, even the cost of fuller and earlier publication in book form would be a small price for the fuller understanding of foreign affairs that should result, while there is still time to profit importantly from the understanding. Early publication would not insure understanding, as Mr. Beard's recent tracts demonstrate, but it would make it possible for those who have eyes to see.

Ohio State University

EARL S. POMEROY

THIS IS PEARL! THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN—1941. By *Walter Millis*. (New York: William Morrow and Company. 1947. Pp. xiii, 373. \$4.00.)

ONE of the compensations of war in our time is that Walter Millis will tell us how it came about. In *This is Pearl!* he has done it again, and if one hopes it is for the last time, this is no reflection on the author. The subject of the book is the year preceding Pearl Harbor, the relations of the United States and Japan, Japanese planning for aggression, our own warlike preparations, and the background mood of the country. The source is the record of the Pearl Harbor investigation, supplemented by various official, journalistic, and personal works. The approach is sympathetic to the Roosevelt administration, the author feeling that although its policies

made war with Japan inevitable, it had no valid alternative. The treatment is chronological.

So far as source material is concerned, the continuing flood makes revision inevitable: the Nuremberg records modify somewhat the story of Matsuoka's pilgrimage to the fountainheads of fascism, and publication of the record of the Tokyo trials will doubtless further clarify the murky question of German-Japanese relations. It may also be noted that not everything in the Pearl Harbor testimony can be accepted as solid fact: it seems for example improbable that the *Akagi* air group was informed of the date and manner of commencing the war as early as October 5.

The chronological treatment, while giving a vivid impression of the sweep of events, tends to obscure some factors of importance. Responsible naval opinion in both countries was averse to entering upon this naval war. This is made plain of Admiral Stark, but although almost every Japanese naval personage discussed—Nomura, Oikawa, Toyoda—is shown resisting the drift to conflict, the conclusion remains unstated. Furthermore, Admiral Yamamoto's opposition to both the Tripartite Pact and the war with America is not made clear, in part perhaps because of an error which dates his letter on dictating peace in the White House "on the morrow of Pearl Harbor" rather than in January, 1941. Opposition did exist in Japan both to war and to the Axis tie—as late as November 30 the German ambassador in Tokyo was reporting on the attitude of "compromise-seeking politicians"—and the matter is important to any estimate of our diplomacy. Yet little indication of such feeling is given, and emphasis on the bellicosity of such abstractions as "the military" and "the Japanese" implies a united front which was not there.

Mr. Millis underestimates the logistic difficulties of both American and Japanese navies. Concerning Japan, he rightly describes our embargo as "critical" and decisive," but the crucial oil question is skimmed, especially as regards its importance in setting the diplomatic deadline and in finally converting the Navy to war. While indicating the serious logistic problems of our own Pacific Fleet, he intimates that it was capable of operating from Philippine bases against the Japanese flank, an impossibility at the time. Some argument can be made that the Japanese attack traded real political advantages for illusory military ones, but this is not here apparent: the author seems as much impressed by the shadow of the U.S. battle line as were the Japanese planners.

Despite such qualifications, *This is Pearl!* is of real interest. The story it tells is important, not only for the tragic sequence of blunders made and opportunities missed which permitted the great debacle, but also because it raises fundamental problems regarding the conduct of foreign relations with those who believe in *Hakko Ichiu*, in the eight corners of the universe under one roof. And as an account of events leading up to one of the most brilliant military feats of history, the

victory that lost the war for the Axis powers, it is also, for those who lived through that year, a very moving book.

Swarthmore College

JAMES A. FIELD, JR.

THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTH AMERICA: THE NORTHERN REPUBLICS. By *Arthur P. Whitaker*. [The American Foreign Policy Library.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1948. Pp. xix, 280. \$3.50.)

In his book, *The United States and South America*, Professor Whitaker has elected to consider the relations between the United States and those northern countries of South America which formed a unit during the heroic age of independence, the states that in 1826 were included in Simon Bolívar's projected Federation of the Andes, and for which Professor Whitaker uses the term "the Bolivarian bloc." The validity of this selection seems, in the light of contemporary history, open to question, first because Panama has been omitted, and second because the Federation of the Andes lasted but a year and existed on paper only. However, it is quite true that the five republics reviewed in the present volume have many features in common, and Professor Whitaker outlines them with understanding and with an inside knowledge of his subject acquired through years of study in this field and during many sojourns in South American capitals. Furthermore, he is as aware of the differences between Venezuela, Peru, Colombia, Ecuador, and Bolivia as he is of their similarities, and he never stresses the analogy of their parallel development beyond sound lines.

A comprehensive survey of these republics touching upon geographical conditions, racial elements, population trends, political patterns, and economic problems can, of course, hit only the high spots. Most students of Hispanic America will agree that Professor Whitaker's profiles of the Bolivarian countries are substantially accurate, notwithstanding the fact that shades of interpretation and certain details of factual material may be open to discussion.

The chapter concerning the relation of these northern countries to the United States (though including in retrospect some aspects of Western Hemisphere policy), deals mainly with the years of World War II and after. Professor Whitaker discusses the war policy of the northern republics and explains why Latin America's position since the conclusion of the war is more vulnerable than ever, its prosperity now being almost entirely dependent on the economic cycle of the United States. Active participation in South American trade by Germany, Italy, and France has been practically eliminated, Great Britain's commerce in this direction has been drastically cut, and Russia is not able to bridge the gap.

This reviewer believes that South America's contribution to the Allied war effort was even more important than Professor Whitaker indicates; for instance, attention should be called to the freezing of prices for vital raw products, a decision in which all the five republics concurred.

The most interesting part of Dr. Whitaker's book is that entitled "Prospects." Here the author does not give a prophetic vision of "*los países de mañana*," but presents a pondered and conservative evaluation of prevailing tendencies, an appraisal which should meet with general approval.

One can only regret that the problem of cultural relations has not been assigned a more important place in this survey, and that the contradictory and complex elements of Latin American psychology are but briefly mentioned and not synthesized in a separate chapter. This reviewer is inclined to estimate rather highly the potential influence of cultural relations in the fabric of Pan-American amity, and deplores the fact that these relations have undergone a slump in the postwar period, the results of which are plainly evident throughout the so-called Bolivarian bloc. It is without doubt true that the United States possesses what is practically a monopoly "in the various fields of science and technology," but it should not be forgotten that South America has much to offer in the realm of aesthetic criticism, in poetry, in a philosophy of life—fruits of an artistic inheritance which owes its singularity and its fascination partly to its Hispanic backgrounds and partly to its autochthonous Indian roots. It is a civilization at the same time individualistic and universal, national and cosmopolitan. The perspectives for Latin American culture in the world-in-making admit of great promise, and without them contemporary civilization would be immeasurably poorer.

Sweet Briar College

GERHARD MASUR

THE ARTHUR PAPERS: BEING THE PAPERS MAINLY CONFIDENTIAL, PRIVATE, AND DEMI-OFFICIAL OF SIR GEORGE ARTHUR, K.C.H., LAST LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF UPPER CANADA, IN THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION OF THE TORONTO PUBLIC LIBRARIES. Edited by *Charles R. Sanderson*. Part II. (Toronto: Toronto Public Libraries and University of Toronto Press, 1947. Pp. 241-488. \$1.00.)

THIS volume constitutes the second installment in the publication of the papers of Sir George Arthur, last lieutenant governor of Upper Canada, and found in the manuscript collections of the Toronto Public Libraries. The project was begun some years ago. Part I appeared in 1943 and was reviewed in the July, 1944, number of the *American Historical Review* (XLIX, 712-13). It covered the period from the arrival of Arthur to July 20, 1838. The present volume covers the remainder of that year, and still another part will follow.

Like the first volume, Part I contains important communications with, and references to, such prominent figures in this critical period in Anglo-Canadian relations as Lord Durham, Charles Buller, the archbishop of Canterbury, Glenelg, Colborne, Chief Justice Robinson, Allan MacNab, H. S. Fox, the British minister in Washington, and many others who are less well known. The documents throw light on the treatment of political prisoners taken in the Rebellion of 1837; the

Clergy Reserves; immigration from the United States; the evolution of Durham's Report; the friction between Arthur and Durham, and between Arthur and his military superiors, over matters of policy, authority, and prerogative; and the lieutenant governor's dilemma in trying to maintain satisfactory relations with his civil and military superiors, and, at the same time, avoid further trouble with his provincial legislature. It is interesting to note, in passing, that Lord Durham apparently began his mission with the conviction that "the Banditti" responsible for the Canadian insurrection should have been "put to death on the spot," whereas Arthur favored a more lenient attitude, and that a "few weeks appear to have made a great change in his Lordship's mind."

The bulk of these documents, however, deal with the crisis which continued through 1838 because of the activities of "American Marauders associated with Canadian Refugees," and the secret societies of "Hunters" and "Patriots" in the United States, who kept the border in a constant uproar with their invasions and plans of invasion, and threatened to make Canada "another Texas," and perhaps even precipitate war between the United States and Great Britain because of such incidents as the *Caroline* affair. Arthur's papers reveal how completely all other issues were overshadowed by the necessity of planning the defense of the frontier. The raising of military forces, including Negroes and Indians; the task of training, equipping, and properly distributing the "Sedentary Militia"; the espionage necessary to ferret out the plots of the American "ruffians"; and the great question of what attitude the government in Washington would take, produced a volume of communications which fill most of this present volume. President Van Buren and his cabinet evidently wished to enforce neutrality and avoid a rupture with Canada and the mother country, but the administration faced a public opinion so aroused over the border incidents and so convinced that Canada's ultimate destiny was separation from the empire that the problem of dealing with the violators of American neutrality became one of great political delicacy.

The documents reprinted in Part II are of great importance and even more interesting to American readers than those contained in Part I. The editing has been carefully done. Scholars will look forward to the next installment, and it is to be hoped that when all these papers eventually are bound in more permanent form, they may be accompanied by an adequate historical introduction.

Western Reserve University

CARL WITKE

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

THE END OF AN EPOCH: REFLECTIONS ON CONTEMPORARY HISTORY.

By *A. L. Rowse*, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. (New York, Macmillan, 1948, pp. vii, 324, \$4.50.) Mr. Rowse, a Laborite in politics but a detached and humorous intellectual by temperament, has done the reading public a real service in bringing together between covers a collection of his articles, book reviews, public letters, and other fugitive pieces written during, or shortly before, the Second World War. He discusses, with a wit and clarity and good-natured cynicism worthy of Shaw or Swift at their best, the widest variety of topics: Labor party policy, the decline of liberalism, the spiritual sickness of Nazi Germany, the theory (and very different practice) of Communist Russia, the doctrines of Karl Marx. But he is perhaps most interesting, and certainly most thoroughly in earnest, when he turns his guns against the fatuous foreign policy of appeasing Hitler. He is fully entitled to share the honors of Churchill for disregarded warnings and wise prevision of coming events, "It is probable that future historians will be hard put to it to find another period comparable to it in folly and disgrace, in corruption of the very sources of judgment, in lack of vision and criminal obtuseness in high places, unless they go back to the twelve year rule of Lord North and George III that ended in the loss of America . . . the solid mass of Tory yes-men in the House of Commons who sat there year after year voting for the wrong things, backing the wrong horses on the wrong courses, greeting the loss of strategic position after position to our enemies, Manchuria, Abyssinia, Spain, Austria, Czechoslovakia" (p. 65). Though the author places the main responsibility on the shoulders of the Conservatives, since they were in office, he has an admirable detachment which enables him to criticize the "dangerous lunacy" of Labor and Liberal pacifists who were all for disarmament in the very face of Hitler's rearmed Germany (p. 111). He believes that there should have been greater co-operation with Russia, but, if it came to a choice of evils, "better the society of Tory England, with all its faults, than the brave new social order of Stalin with its gangster orthodoxy" (p. 19). He has himself no kind of orthodoxy and refuses to follow any party line. He agrees with the fascist critics of democracy that people are mostly ignorant and stupid, but says that dictatorship is no remedy "since it uses its knowledge of how irrational people are to make them more so than ever" (p. 308). He is a pacifist who believes that Britain sinned by not rearming soon enough; a democrat who has no belief in popular intelligence; a Socialist who makes fun of Socialist dogmas; a liberal who in every chapter pleads for freedom of thought and expression and yet is willing to consider the highly dubious possibility of a government-controlled press (p. 99). It is impossible to agree with Mr. Rowse at every point, but it is impossible not to enjoy his clear and incisive intellect or his trenchant and epigrammatic style.

PRESTON SLOSSON, *University of Michigan*

A HISTORY OF LIBRARIES IN GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTH AMERICA. By

Albert Predeek. Translated by *Lawrence S. Thompson*. (Chicago, American Library Association, 1947, pp. ix, 177, \$3.25.) This is a translation of part of Volume III of the *Milkau-Leyh Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft* (1940). For "North America" read "United States"; Canada gets mention in one note and Mexico and Central America not even that. The study is based on printed sources and supplemented by

various periods of study and work in Great Britain and the United States. The story runs smoothly, follows a traditional pattern, and the translation is in readable English. A distinctive value is the incidental, occasionally explicit, always instructive and illuminating, light Predeek's *obiter dicta* cast on various phases of library work and development accepted as normal by the native but worthy of comment when mentioned by the foreigner. Some may question the wisdom of publishing in 1947 a work finished in 1940, the past seven years having been a time of unprecedented upheaval in library as well as other phases of human history. The text needs thorough revision as well as careful cross checking of dates and other facts cited. The author evidently had no chance to do this, and the translator was in no position to treble as editor and reviser because of difficulties—the impossibility, for the greater part of the time between publication of the original and the translation—of communications with Germany. Plenty of corrections are needed. To mention two or three: Arundell Esdaile is noted as secretary of the British Museum (p. 41), though he retired in 1940 and was succeeded by F. C. Francis. The Special Libraries Association was not founded in 1902 (pp. 105–106), but the correct date of 1909 is used on page 128. Herbert Putnam began his four years in the Boston Public Library in 1895, not 1905 (p. 109). The Astor Library was never “the Astor family library” nor did it in 1848 pass “into municipal ownership in New York” (p. 94). There are other mistakes or misapprehensions aplenty. However, when all is said, where else is one to find a single volume treating in English of the history of libraries in these two countries?

H. M. LYDENBERG, *Greensboro, North Carolina*

FARMING AND DEMOCRACY. By *A. Whitney Griswold*. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1948, pp. ix, 227, \$3.00.) This is a small but far from insignificant book. The author demolishes remorselessly the venerable contention that a large class of small landed proprietors is a necessary foundation of a genuinely democratic society. Democracy was achieved in England despite the economic strangulation of the yeoman by innumerable enclosure acts. In France, the peasant proprietor tolerated a variety of regimes, from Napoleon I to Marshal Pétain, on the tacit condition that he should be left in undisturbed possession of his patch of soil. In the United States, the Jeffersonian ideal of an agrarian democracy broad-based on a numerous class of small landowners was wrecked by the gradual shift to a dynamic commercial and industrial society, by the upgrowth of large-scale farming, and by the ubiquity of the middleman. Although lip service has been paid to the ideal of the family-type farm, governmental policy in the United States has hesitated between a desire for economic efficiency and maximum productivity on the one hand, and a lingering conviction of the indispensability of the family-size farm to the health of the body politic on the other. It is suggested that Washington should strike a more equitable balance between the large farmer and the small in allocating government aid. The small farm is not of necessity inefficient, and remains the outstanding form of individual economic enterprise. “Family farming cannot save democracy. Only democracy can save the family farm.” The arguments of the author are solidly based, and are presented with force and vivacity. On occasion, the resolute speed with which the survey is conducted, especially in the opening chapters, leaves fascinating themes unexplored. The conviction that democracy could spring only from the deep subsoil of peasant proprietorship was of long historical growth and slow mutation. The reflections of Greek and Roman thinkers on the problem of *stasis* and of the *latifundia* respectively, the example of Switzerland, the Leveller and Digger movements in seventeenth century England, the return to nature in the eighteenth century—these are only some of the intellectual

and factual ingredients of the idea. Secondly, the author might have pointed out that the small proprietor has enjoyed security in the past only at a price. The first Napoleon exacted his blood tax by conscripting the peasants' sons. Hitler guaranteed economic security for the German *Bauerntum*, but enmeshed the peasantry in a tight net of regulation. The fostering of peasant proprietorship in the Communist regimes of Poland and of Red China does not preclude the possibility of the eventual reduction of the small farmer there to semiservitude.

C. C. BAYLEY, *McGill University*

HUGO GURGENY: PRISONER OF THE LISBON INQUISITION. By *Mary Brearley*. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1948, pp. 175, \$3.50.) This book presents the trial of an obscure Englishman arrested and imprisoned by the Inquisition at Lisbon in the early years of the seventeenth century. Based to the fullest possible extent on the surviving written testimony, it reveals rather clearly the procedures and techniques of the Inquisition. It also recreates with some success both the Lisbon of 1605 and the group of Englishmen who, for various reasons, lived there. It contains as much information about the Gurgeny family and all other persons concerned as can be derived from a careful search in the printed sources and in available manuscript materials. The documents, however, are not complete. The attempt of the author to depict Hugo Gurgeny as "an English gentleman of some learning but not much cunning" who fought the Inquisition "for liberty of conscience and the respect of treaties" requires much conjecture. A moving and a timely narrative has been constructed with great ingenuity but the final result is inconclusive. Even the author is far from sure of her own explanation of the unique and mysterious features of the case. The book has serious defects. The time element is not always clear. Some parts of the account are excessively detailed. The notes are inadequate and the bibliographical equipment slender. The reader is never provided with sufficient information concerning the materials used. On the other hand, the illustrations, reproducing portions of the manuscripts on which the book rests, particularly the one which places in juxtaposition Gurgeny's signatures before and after his trial and imprisonment, are excellent. Most readers will find the main value of the book in its display of the Inquisition in action, virtually independent of control by either church or state. The book has importance to a lesser degree as a partial measurement, from Lisbon, of some of the dominant currents of thought in early seventeenth century Europe. The personality and activities of Hugo Gurgeny have otherwise little real interest for the historian, however intriguing they may be made to appear by a painstaking author working skillfully with fragmentary sources.

SIDNEY R. PACKARD, *Smith College*

THE MEDITERRANEAN. By *André Siegfried*. Translated from the French by *Doris Hemming*. (New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1948, pp. 221, \$3.00.) In his preface to this little volume the author remarks: "The Mediterranean is a civilisation, and it is also a highway" (p. 24). This comment indicates the general approach of the entire volume, which considers the Mediterranean from the points of view of geology, mineral resources, agriculture, industry, trade, population, climate and public health, presenting a concise picture of the position of the area in the modern world. Siegfried's main thesis is that the Mediterranean, geared to an earlier type of economy, has rather lost out in the modern industrial civilization which is based on coal, iron, and heavy industry since her natural resources and facilities preclude her ever taking a leading part in such an economy. However she will always remain a great trade route, and her people represent a way of life—an individualism and ingenuity—

which the world would seriously miss were it not preserved. The complete dependence of the Mediterranean on the outside world is clearly evidenced throughout the chapters of the book, but the conclusion is reached that the Mediterranean has also contributed much to modern economic and social development. As the work is avowedly an economic and geographical essay, with a touch of the tourist travelogue thrown in, it has a very limited appeal to the historian who will search it in vain for any appreciation of the historic role of the Mediterranean in the development of man's culture. The book is too elementary to be scholarly and too statistical to be popular, but economic geographers may find it of some value.

JOHN L. LAMONTE, *University of Pennsylvania*

The *Annales (Economies-Sociétés-Civilisations)*, founded, under a slightly different title, by Professor Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch in 1929 and recently revived by the former, has ventured to add a new series. *Cahiers* or brochures for pieces of scholarship too long for an article and too short for a book will be published from time to time. The first two numbers set a high standard. They are: Pierre Sardella, *Nouvelles et spéculations à Venise au début du XVI^e siècle* (Paris, Librairie Armand Colin, 1948, pp. 84, 120 fr.); and Charles Morazé, *Trois essais sur histoire et culture* (Paris, Librairie Armand Colin, 1948, pp. viii, 62, 90 fr.).

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Ancient History¹

T. Robert S. Broughton

FOUNDATIONS IN THE DUST: A STORY OF MESOPOTAMIAN EXPLORATION. By *Seton Lloyd*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1947, pp. xii, 237,

¹ Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

\$4.50.) The history of the modern discovery of the ancient Near East is sometimes more thrilling than the history of Babylonia and Assyria themselves. The story has been told repeatedly but never more interestingly than in this little book by the British scholar who is technical adviser to the Iraq Department of Antiquities. The book falls into three parts of approximately equal length. The first deals with early travelers and especially with Claudius Rich, a linguistic genius who was the India Company's resident at Baghdad from 1808 to 1821 and who spent his spare time examining mounds at Babylon and elsewhere. These chapters form the most interesting part of the book, giving the reader, among other things, a vivid picture of Ottoman government in the Pashalik of Baghdad at the beginning of the last century. The second part deals principally with the two great "founders of Assyriology," Layard and Rawlinson, who did their work just a hundred years ago in the late 1840's and the early 1850's. The third section opens with a chapter on the "scramble for antiquities," especially during the 1870's and 1880's, when various persons who were not careful archaeologists rifled the mounds for small statues and clay tablets that could easily be smuggled out of the country and sold to European museums. The last forty or fifty pages discuss in rather perfunctory fashion the work of various scientific excavators in the present century. Only English orientalists receive more than the briefest attention. Botta is barely mentioned, Koldewey and Andrae are given pats on the back in passing, and the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago comes in only for a rather envious notice of its lavish financial resources. The author has lived in the Near East for many years and skillfully describes oriental scenery and life. His book tells how the great pioneers came to make their discoveries, not what they discovered, and it says little about ancient Babylonia and Assyria. Persons seeking a rounded and scholarly account of the development of oriental archaeology should therefore turn to other works, the most recent of which is André Parrot, *Archéologie mésopotamienne*, Vol. I, *Les Étapes* (1946).

J. W. SWAIN, *University of Illinois*

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Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm

THE EARLY OSMANLIS: A CONTRIBUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF THE FALL OF HELLENISM IN ASIA MINOR (1282-1337) [in Greek]. By G. Georgiades Arnakis, Professor of History at Pierce College, Athens, Greece. [Texte und Forschungen zur Byzantinisch-Neugriechischen Philologie, Nr. 41.] (Athens, Author, 1947, pp. v, 247.) G. Georgiades Arnakis' book, written in modern Greek, consists of

a preamble, an introduction dealing with the history of the Ottoman problem in Asia Minor, which is accompanied by a critical survey of primary sources and secondary works (pp. 1-34), and of three chapters: (1) Bithynia at the end of the thirteenth century (pp. 35-70); (2) the organization of the Osmanli state (pp. 71-132); (3) the conquest of Bithynia (pp. 133-97). Then follow the chronological table (pp. 199-202), bibliography (pp. 203-28), two indexes (pp. 229-34), map of Bithynia (p. 235), and a substantial summary of the book drawn in English (pp. 237-46). The author's chief aim is to discuss the double problem of the foundation of the Ottoman Empire and of the fall of the last Asiatic Greeks, those of Bithynia. The book covers the period from 1282 to 1337, when Nicomedia, the last Byzantine stronghold, surrendered to the Turks. The author's attention is concentrated on Bithynia, as the land which was to become the cradle of the Osmanli state. He treats in detail the history of the gradual conquest of this region by the Osmanlis, who were introduced into history in 1301 after Osman's victory at Bapheus, near Nicomedia—an event of cardinal importance. In 1330 the first treaty of friendship was made between the Byzantines and the Ottomans, by which the Emperor Andronicus III Palaeologus (1328-1341) recognized the Turkish conquests. In other words, during the period which is described by Arnakis, the death blow was inflicted on Hellenism and on Byzantine claims in Asia Minor. The chronological table which covers the time from 1258 to 1362 is very useful. The bibliography is very carefully compiled; the Turkish historians and chroniclers as well as the Russian studies on the subject are indicated, which does not occur very often. Vladimir Lamansky's Russian work *On the Slavs in Asia Minor, Africa and Spain* (St. Petersburg, 1859), old but even now very useful, is missing. For those who are not familiar with the modern Greek language, the detailed and very comprehensive English summary which is attached to the book will be of great help, so that for the general reader Arnakis' fine book will not be entirely lost.

A. VASILIEV, *Dumbarton Oaks, Harvard University*

ESSAYS ON PRIMITIVISM AND RELATED IDEAS IN THE MIDDLE AGES. By George Boas. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1948, pp. xii, 227, \$4.50.) Most of the shortcomings of this book are frankly acknowledged in the preface and it would be ungracious to insist on them in a review. No one man, even in a long scholarly career, could hope to read all the texts and documents which might contain material on primitivism in the Middle Ages. Professor Boas, with a relatively limited amount of time at his disposal, has merely been able to take a few soundings here and there. The bulk of the work falls within the patristic period. Only occasionally does the author venture into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and no conclusions can be drawn from the few samples which he brings back. On the other hand, his discussion of the way in which the Fathers used and modified ancient ideas about the original condition of man or the Golden Age gives a new illustration of the interaction of Christian and classical thought. Translations of key passages, often of little-known works, are especially valuable in this respect. Primitivism was an important concept in the classical period, and it flourished again in the Renaissance, but it is doubtful whether it had much significance in medieval thought. As Professor Boas shows repeatedly, there was no strong tradition either of primitivism or of anti-primitivism in Christian doctrine and the same man might adopt contradictory positions in different parts of his writings. Christian writers simply were not interested in the problem. They touched on it briefly in discussing such topics as Adam before the Fall or the early history of mankind, but merely as one facet of a much more complicated block of ideas. For example, they have relatively little to say about

natural law as a manifestation of the state of nature, and a great deal to say about natural law as illustrating the relations of God and man. Christian ascetics might use the language of the Cynics, but their motivation and basic interests were entirely different. The idea that a new era began with the Incarnation kept Christians from glorifying a primitive past. In short, medieval writers played a relatively minor role in developing the idea of primitivism, and even as transmitters they probably had little influence.

JOSEPH R. STRAYER, *Princeton University*

L'OCCIDENT MEDIEVAL: LA BELGIQUE ET L'EUROPE. By *Humbert Ligny*. [Bibliothèque historique]. (Brussels, Editions Universitaires, Les Presses de Belgique, 1948, pp. 535.) This is a good book, representing sound scholarship and reflecting both thorough control of fact and talent for historical synthesis. It is, nevertheless, difficult to appraise, and American readers may wonder why another survey of the European west of the Middle Ages needed to be written. As his subtitle explains, the author's basic aim is to write a history in which the story of Belgium is placed properly in its full European setting. This is not a novel idea but his attempt to carry out a suggestion Pirenne put forth in the first volume of his great *Histoire de Belgique*. Ligny writes well and at times even his narrow treatment of an important theme is marked by brilliant and penetrating comment. On the whole, however, most American readers may feel with justification that what he has done bears too much resemblance to that encountered with nauseous repetition in their own plethora of textbooks. In short, the history of Belgium is suffocated in a mass of fact pertaining to all Europe. The work will prove most useful to those scholars, already in control of the significant features of the age, who wish a handy vade mecum to which they can refer with assurance. Since the work was composed surely primarily for Belgian readers, it would be ungracious to demand that the author think too seriously of a wider audience. Yet it does seem that even Belgians might profit more if they are to begin by reading standard works of distinction already available in French. The most interesting and suggestive parts of the book are those treating of institutions and social matters, where Ligny shows his penetrating insight into problems of great importance and interest. There is political history in abundance and even Europeans may find here far too much fact. For reference this is most convenient; for reading and comprehension it is deadly and unnecessarily confusing. There are a number of choice illustrations inserted at proper intervals in the text. The pages are clean, the type clear, and the errors of printing few and obvious. The marginal captions seem often excessive and at times intrude on the narrative. These, along with a fairly detailed table of contents, permit the reader to find his way through the volume; but it is disappointing to find a work of such dimensions published without an index. There is a useful bibliography, helpful especially for titles that appeared on the Continent during the war years. This contains references to a considerable number of works in English, is best for political and institutional history, but needs amplification in the section listing works for intellectual and artistic life.

GRAY C. BOYCE, *Northwestern University*

THE PLANTAGENETS, 1154-1485. By *John Harvey*. (New York, B. T. Batsford, 1948, pp. xii, 180, \$5.50.) Mr. John Harvey is a royalist, an architect, and a man of letters. He has decided opinions and no hesitation whatever about expressing them vigorously and dogmatically. His book is primarily an account of the personalities and characters of the Plantagenet kings with some reference to such of their public activities as happen to interest him. To this he has added miscellaneous comments on con-

temporary artists, architects, writers, and men of learning. The only feature of this book that is of real interest to historians is the illustrations. Mr. Harvey gives excellent reproductions of contemporary representations of the Plantagenet monarchs and their spouses in sculpture and illumination. He believes that they were intended as portraits, and his arguments are thoroughly convincing. For the rest Mr. Harvey's work is not to be taken very seriously. He makes no pretense of having used original sources, and if his bibliography is to be taken as an indication of the secondary works consulted, he made no very thorough perusal of this type of material. He makes positive judgments on many questions that have puzzled historians, but most of them are far from convincing. I am afraid that for him good evidence is what suits his purpose. Despite its obvious weaknesses as a historical work, or perhaps because of them, Mr. Harvey's book is extremely entertaining—especially for one whose prejudices are similar to his. And the conclusions of a highly intelligent man, even when they are founded on inadequate knowledge, should not be brushed off too lightly. Some of Mr. Harvey's are obviously ridiculous, but others may well be at least partially right. One of the chief functions of a historian is to accept or reject hypotheses, and he should be grateful to anyone who supplies him with new ones to consider. This Mr. Harvey does in a truly prodigal fashion.

SIDNEY PAINTER, *Johns Hopkins University*

NICOLAUS OF AUTRE COURT: A STUDY IN FOURTEENTH CENTURY THOUGHT. By *Julius Rudolph Weinberg*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press for University of Cincinnati, 1948, pp. ix, 242, \$3.75.) Nicolaus of Autrecourt was perhaps the leading critical philosopher of the fourteenth century. This book presents the most detailed analysis yet made of his ideas and is the only study of Nicolaus in English based on all the extant texts. The work is divided into two parts. The first gives an account of Nicolaus' theory of evidence and the use which he made of it. Nicolaus says that there are two sources of certainty, sense perceptions and the law of noncontradiction. He criticizes, quite brilliantly, the Aristotelian notions of "substance" and "cause," commenting that the followers of Aristotle and Averroes "abandon the common good" and "waste their lives in logical discourses" instead of turning their attention to "things." The second part of the work is an exposition of Nicolaus' atomism, based on the hypothesis that all things which exist are good and that each contributes to the good of the whole. This metaphysics is proposed as "more probable" than that of Aristotle. The main outline of Nicolaus' thought is clearly presented, and valuable summaries are made. The treatment is thoroughly philosophical. On detail it is often obscure, if sometimes suggestive. This is a "study in fourteenth century thought" in the limited sense that Nicolaus was a significant fourteenth century philosopher. Only a slight attempt is made to present the views of others. A short section considers Greek skepticism and certain teachings of the Mutakallimum and Al Gazali as possible sources of Nicolaus' doctrine. The author thinks it more likely that fourteenth century criticism was indigenous to scholasticism. Augustine's *Contra Academicos* should have been considered as a source; it might have provided Nicolaus both with knowledge of the Academicians, to whom he refers, and with his important argument for the certainty of perceptions. There is an omission in the translation of a text on page 64. Perhaps the greatest utility of this work is in the advertisement it gives to the highly important current of criticism which arose and developed within scholasticism.

B. J. DICKS, *University of Illinois*

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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE AND COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

Francis H. Herrick

A HISTORY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT. By K. B. Smellie, Reader in Political Science at the London School of Economics and Political Science. [The New Town and County Hall Series, No. 2.] (London, George Allen and Unwin; New York, Macmillan, 1948, pp. 192, 7s. 6d., \$2.25.) English local government has been created in a little more than a hundred years. Before 1832, when suffrage was extended to the middle class, the old county and borough system was in ruins and the government of the parish was an anachronism. The present system of local government is the result of an interplay between political, economic, and scientific factors. Mr. Smellie traces the development of local government in England through the stages of the Poor Law Act of 1834, the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, the Local Government Act of 1858, the Reform Bill of 1867, the creation of the Local Government Board in 1871, the Municipal Corporations Act of 1882, the extension of the suffrage in 1884, the divesting of the justices of the peace of their administrative functions by the Local Government Act of 1888, the Housing and Town Planning Acts of 1919 and 1925, the Local Government Act of 1933, and the Education Act of 1944. There is a separate chapter on London—city, administrative county, and metropolitan area. The author not only deals adequately and interestingly with the past but he also hazards a look into the future. He points out that there has been no comprehensive reorganization of the areas of local government since 1872 and that a thorough overhauling of the present scheme is indicated. A commission to make a study of local boundaries has been appointed and is now at work. Three solutions are suggested for the difficulties which the advance of science has thrust upon local government: (1) the nationalization of services once local, (2) regionalism, and (3) creation of *ad hoc* boards. The government fears and has rejected centralization. The war offered some valuable experience with regionalism in civilian defense which indicates that for certain functions this may be a desirable solution provided some method of direct democratic control over regional authorities can be devised. Joint boards and joint committees have not proved successful. The Education Act of 1944 has nationalized the whole system of education by abolishing more than half of the independent authorities at a single blow and placing broad powers in a national ministry. Further simplification is recommended for relief, water supply, and finance.

Both teachers and students of history and of government will find this concise, freshly written volume a pleasure to read and a mine of useful information.

HARVEY WALKER, *Ohio State University*

A HISTORY OF NOTTINGHAMSHIRE. By *A. C. Wood*. (Nottingham, Thoroton Society, 1947, pp. 314, 21s.) In the preface to this volume published by the Thoroton Society on the occasion of its jubilee, Dr. Wood states that the book "is intended for the general reader who has an interest in local history." Making no claim for it as a work of original research, he freely acknowledges his debt to other scholars. The book, however, is a first attempt to present the history of the county in all its aspects from Roman times to the early nineteenth century. Progressing chronologically, Dr. Wood covers political, military, economic, social, religious, and cultural developments. The narrative moves easily, the main thread is never lost, and the history of the county is placed in its larger setting. In a work of this scope it is inevitable that some parts should appear stronger than others. The early chapters on Roman, Anglian, and Danish Nottinghamshire, relying on the excellent work of Dr. Oswald and Professor Stenton, are among the most interesting; while the chapters on the modern period, particularly those on the seventeenth century in which Dr. Wood is an expert, reveal familiarity with the sources. Less pleasing are the chapters on the Middle Ages which tend to be choppy, a fault which might have been obviated if a topical sequence for the period, rather than a chronological arrangement by centuries, had been followed. Of particular worth to those interested in local historiography are evaluations of the work of three early county historians, Thoroton in the seventeenth century, Deering in the eighteenth century, and Blackner in the nineteenth century. The volume is adequately indexed and attractively illustrated but contains neither bibliography nor map. Even a "popular" history might well contain a list of the chief authorities consulted, to encourage the beginner and to inform the expert. For either purpose footnote references, which in this case are sometimes carelessly cited, are insufficient. For the reader unfamiliar with the topography of Nottinghamshire a map would have been a convenience. But these are minor criticisms of a successful work of synthesis.

ISABEL R. ABBOTT, *Rockford College*

STUART AND GEORGIAN CHURCHES: THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND OUTSIDE LONDON, 1603-1837. By *Marcus Whiffen*. (New York, B. T. Batsford, 1948, pp. viii, 118, \$6.00.) This is a book which has long needed to be written. There are endless books on the medieval country churches of England. There are plenty of books about the Stuart and early Georgian city churches of London. Obviously there must also have been later churches in the country. Indeed, as Mr. Whiffen states, between the accession of George II and the battle of Waterloo new churches in London were few and far between, so that the tradition of ecclesiastical building from Elizabeth to Victoria can be studied in its full continuity and variety only in the country. Here we find late Gothic churches of the Early Stuart period with touches of Jacobean mannerism; here are versions of the Late Stuart baroque of Wren, including such surprising examples as All Saints', Northampton, with its portico eight columns in width, and of the Early Georgian Baroque of Gibbs, like All Saints, Derby, so similar to those in America derived from Gibbs's folio of designs—of some of which the author gives illustrations. Less familiar in type are the classic examples, beginning with the Tuscan temple of 1744-46 which accompanies the Palladian *villa rotonda* at Mereworth, and by its colonnades prefigures by more than a generation Saint-Philippe du Roule in Paris. After the rococo-Gothic,

illustrated by such works as Shobden, Hertfordshire, come later Georgian neo-classic works like Robert Adam's *Mistley* and West Wycombe and Revett's *Ayot St. Lawrence*, and "Athenian" Stuart's *Newnham Courtney*. A truer Gothic appears before the end of the eighteenth century. This is a novel and instructive book.

FISKE KIMBALL, *Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

PROTESTANT DISSENT IN IRELAND, 1687-1780. By J. C. Beckett, Lecturer in History in the Queen's University of Belfast. [Studies in Irish History, Volume II.] (London, Faber and Faber, 1948, pp. 161, 15s.) The conventional division of Irish society in the eighteenth century into a repressed Catholic majority and a dominant Protestant minority clearly needs further refinement. Within the Protestant ranks the Presbyterians and other dissenting groups occupied an anomalous and subordinate position. Whatever toleration they enjoyed "was based on connivance rather than law," backed by their own organized strength in the north and by the favor of the English government, except during the reign of Anne. The central question considered in this volume is: "Why did the church of Ireland, still in danger from its bitterest enemies, the Roman Catholics, refuse, in defiance of the pressure from the English government, to come to terms with the protestant dissenters?" In Mr. Beckett's opinion the intolerant attitude of the established church is to be explained less on grounds of religious convictions than on the basis of such factors as the fear of the Presbyterians, who were about as numerous as Episcopalians, and the realization that the dissenters would be forced to support the church party if the Protestant position in Ireland were threatened. Part I is a chronological survey, with emphasis on the reasons for the relative toleration during the reign of William III, the imposition of the sacramental test in 1704, the efforts of dissenters to secure the repeal of this test (which were not successful until 1780), the abjuration oath, and the concessions to dissenters in the Toleration Act of 1719. Part II deals with four topics of special importance: (1) the *regium donum*, a grant to Presbyterians and other dissenters from the English government; (2) the question of the validity of Presbyterian marriages; (3) the "minor sects," notably the nonconforming French Protestants in Ireland and the Quakers; and (4) the economic status of dissenters in eighteenth century Ireland. The work is carefully documented and has an excellent bibliography. It is the second volume of "Studies in Irish History," a series edited by T. W. Moody, R. Dudley Edwards, and David B. Quinn. Although it lacks the flavor and general interest of the first volume in the series—R. B. McDowell's *Irish Public Opinion, 1750-1800*—it is a welcome addition to Irish historical scholarship.

NORMAN D. PALMER, *University of Pennsylvania*

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY: THE ROLE OF THE DOMINIONS, 1919-1939. By Gwendolen M. Carter, Smith College. [Issued under the auspices of the Canadian Institute on International Affairs.] (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1947, pp. xx, 326, \$4.00.) Professor Carter has searched through an impressive mass of scattered materials—debates, blue books, memoirs, newspapers, etc.—in preparing what is the most complete account yet given of the part played by the British Dominions in the search for security between the Peace Conference of 1919 and the attack on Poland in 1939. Her findings are carefully organized, intelligently commented on, and woven into the general pattern of diplomacy. One cannot argue, perhaps, that they change significantly the larger perspective in which international affairs or British Commonwealth developments have been viewed by historians. But they are based upon an independent examina-

tion of the evidence and sometimes have wide implications. This is true in a high degree of the chapters dealing with the period just after World War I. These show how divergence of interests between the different members of the Commonwealth arose less over European matters, such as the proper policy towards the Continent, than over imperial questions like the Suez Canal, vital to Australia and New Zealand but of no special concern to Canada, South Africa, and the Irish Free State. They reveal, too, how often, in the early days at least, the much vaunted "consultation" was mere lip-service. The discussion of the Chanak episode is especially good for the light thrown on the nature and problems of the Commonwealth association. Another high point is reached in the careful reconstruction of the Imperial Conference of 1937. The immediate background of the last war, however, is dealt with less effectively and less fully, while the conclusion is anticlimactic in its failure to rise energetically to the task of summary and inference. It is a weakness that the style of the book lacks variety and color. Sometimes, too, the role of the Dominions threatens to be lost in the general story of international negotiations. But problems of analysis and emphasis in a study of this kind almost defy solution. Not only must one carry along the story of policy for five widely scattered countries; Dominion status itself was changing throughout the whole period under review and was different at any given moment for any two Dominions. Upon these problems Miss Carter has made a resolute attack; her book should be used profitably for a long time to come.

THOMAS P. PEARDON, *Barnard College*

The first issue of a new English periodical, the *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, appeared in 1947. The editor is Mr. Philip Styles, lecturer in English history. The scope and purpose of the journal are thus phrased by the editors: "The Journal has been established for the publication of historical research by past and present members of the University. It will be issued annually, at the price of 10s. 6d., at the beginning of the Autumn Term. Its scope will not be limited to any period or aspect of history, though one article in each number will deal with the history of the Midlands. Texts of historical documents will also be published from time to time. New publications, however, will not be reviewed."

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FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop

LES VOYAGES DE DECOUVERTE ET LES PREMIERS ÉTABLISSEMENTS (XV^e-XVI^e SIÈCLES). By *Ch.-André Julien*. [Colonies et Empires: Collection Internationale de Documentation Comparée. Troisième Série: Histoire de l'Expansion et de la Colonisation Françaises, 1.] (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1948, pp. 533, 460 fr.) This is an excellent account of French expansion and colonization in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It first describes the attempts of Cartier and other French explorers in the early fifteenth century to obtain footholds in the New World. But, unlike their Spanish and Portuguese contemporaries, they were unable to establish permanent holdings. The French kings placed their political and economic interests ahead of discovery and colonization, and failed to support these undertakings. Instead, French discoverers were dependent upon the backing of certain provinces and sea ports, such as Normandy, Brittany, Dieppe, and Saint-Malo. The French monarch, however, did not ignore expansion. King Francis I, for example, opposed the famous bull of Pope Alexander VI which was designed to divide the uncivilized part of the world between Spain and Portugal, and insisted that effective occupation of territory should determine the right of possession. During the first part of the sixteenth century, the maritime struggle evolved into a conflict between individuals rather than nations. "The sea became a vast battlefield where one could not distinguish between friend or foe" (p. 439). By the middle of the century religious hatred complicated this struggle. Nevertheless, a number of attempts were made by French leaders to establish colonies in Brazil and Florida. These expeditions were supported by the able Huguenot leader, Coligny, and were encouraged by Catherine de Médicis. But the opposition of the powerful Spanish king, Philip II, forced the Valois rulers to withdraw their support. As a result France was not able to retain the colonies she had founded. Despite this failure, France prospered as a result of the age of discovery. Her businessmen "invaded" Spain, sold goods to the people, and obtained possession of part of the gold and silver that the Spaniards had brought from the New World. But while European merchants, bankers, and financiers became wealthy as a result of the influx of precious metals, people as a whole suffered. Cheap money helped to bring an inflation and the high cost of living was as much a problem then as it is today. Professor Julien's book is worth reading. It is scholarly and interesting, and is supported by a long list of works on the subject. It also contains a helpful index.

FRANKLIN C. PALM, *University of California*

LE MAGNIFIQUE MEIGRET: UNE FIGURE DU TEMPS DE CALVIN. By *Alexis François*, Professeur à l'Université de Genève. (Geneva, Georg & Cie, 1947, pp. 182.) This work by Professor Alexis François is a detailed account of the political and religious career of Laurent Meigret, one of the minor personages of the sixteenth century. Meigret, one of the servitors attached to the court of Francis I, was banished from France in the fall of 1534 following acceptance of the religious doctrines of the Reformers. For the next twenty-odd years Meigret played a relatively important role in the political life of Geneva. He became especially important in espionage work,

and it is in this phase of his activities that Professor François seems to be particularly interested. His study has been based primarily upon Meigret's personal papers deposited in the archives of Geneva as well as upon the published correspondence of John Calvin and other contemporary figures. Of possible value to the researcher is a chronological listing of the various documents, still preserved in Geneva, pertaining to the trial of Laurent Meigret in 1547. There is a brief bibliography, but unfortunately no index. This slender but carefully prepared and documented monograph is of much value in providing detailed information on one of the little known figures of the age of the Reformation.

BERNERD C. WEBER, *University of Alabama*

THE RESHAPING OF FRENCH DEMOCRACY. By *Gordon Wright*. Introduction by Paul Birdsall. (New York, Reynal and Hitchcock, 1948, pp. x, 277, \$3.50.) Mr. Wright has combined the qualifications of the historian with the experience of the foreign service officer to produce the best book yet available on the Fourth Republic. He has written with a balance, thoroughness, and economy rare among political observers, and with a fullness of current information not otherwise to be had. The book is primarily a political analysis of the shaping of the constitutions of the Fourth Republic. This analysis is introduced by reflections on the Third Republic and concluded by a cautious estimate of things to come. Having himself endured most of the oratory and probed through the mass of drafts, minutes, and memorandums to which such political labors give rise, Mr. Wright has come out with an ordered account that points up clearly, and with wit, the critical points in the process—above all the “double negative” which dominated the drafting, the fear of the strong man and the fear of the strong party. He has caught the flavor of liberation politics, and shows his sense of shading nowhere better than in discussions of De Gaulle. Here he avoids the slogans of both camps in evaluating a man whose range of daily advisers reflects his complexity—from Palewski and Malraux to Marianne and God. Mr. Wright is less directly familiar with the Algiers period and the first months of liberation, but points of possible controversy are minor. Any serious qualifications would focus not on the book at all—for it is an excellent piece of workmanship—but rather on the tradition of historical writing which gives so little attention to the structure of interests and power, and to the structure of sentiments, habits, and tensions that underlie the byplay of politics. This tradition has already produced one book (*La Quatrième République* by Mirkine-Guetzévitch) which treats the politics of liberation almost without reference to the fact of Communist strength in Europe; and it has led even the present book, first to pass over the relation to “politics” of such factors as De Gaulle's postponement of basic economic and social reforms, the Franco-Soviet alliance of December, 1944 (p. 62), and the handling of the resistance heritage (pp. 77-78); and, second, in some instances to allow verbal formalisms to obscure more fundamental realities (for example, regarding the depth of the split between the MRP and the Communists, pp. 180-81). But within the limits defined, Mr. Wright has written with real skill on a difficult contemporary scene.

JOHN E. SAWYER, *Harvard University*

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THE LOW COUNTRIES

B. H. Wabeke

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

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AUS GOERINGS SCHREIBTISCH: EIN DOKUMENTENFUND. Edited by T. R. Emessen. (Berlin, Historisches Kabinett, Buchverlag im Allgemeinen Deutschen Verlag, 1947, pp. 127.) Forty-three documents are presented in this little volume. They were found in Goering's office and carry the dates of 1937 and 1938. The subject matter deals with political and economic, as well as private, affairs. For the research problems of this writer the following documents were found to be of undeniable value. First, correspondence with German industrialists. Secondly, correspondence between Goering and the Japanese military attaché to Berlin, Hirochi Oshima, on economic and currency matters. Thirdly, two letters from the former Ambassador Ulrich von Hassell, whose diaries were recently released. The Hassell letters may contribute to a new evaluation of its writer, for they present him as a partner in Goering's "acquisitions" of works of art and also as a sympathizer with the "Anschluss" developments.

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RUSSIA AND SLAVIC EUROPE

Sergius Yakobson

The *Eastern Review*, a new quarterly published in Vienna under the editorship of Professors Josef Matl and Heinrich Felix Schmid, made its first appearance in April of this year. The *Review* plans to emphasize especially the cultural and intellectual aspects of life in eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union, and, since it is directed primarily toward Western readers, it is printed in three languages—English, French, and German. The editors invite contributions and appropriate works for review from scholars interested in this field.

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Near Eastern and Indian History

Sidney Glazer

INDIA: A SURVEY OF THE HERITAGE AND GROWTH OF INDIAN NATIONALISM. By T. Walter Wallbank, University of Southern California. [The Berkshire Studies in European History.] (New York, Henry Holt, 1948, pp. vii, 118, \$1.40.) This latest volume of the Berkshire series is a bird's-eye view of the history of the Indian national movement. Mr. Wallbank has made good use of the very limited space at his disposal. But it may perhaps be doubted whether Indian nationalism, with all the background necessary to make it intelligible, is a topic suited to this kind of volume. The first chapter, entitled "India's Past," seems too short to be useful. Teachers of history learn to scamper over the centuries nimbly enough; but to cover Indian history from 3500 B.C. to 1900 A.D. in thirty-five pages is breathless progress indeed. The second chapter, "The Pattern of Indian Life," supplies background of another type and deals with agriculture, with the Indian village, with the plight of the factory worker, with caste, religion, child marriage, and with other features of social and economic life. Mr. Wallbank draws a sound and realistic picture and does not gloss over the less pleasant features of Indian economics and society. He might perhaps have stressed even more than he does the revolutionary nature of recent economic development. The third and most important chapter traces the history of the national movement from its inception about 1885 to its triumph in recent events. This chapter is well done, it crowds much information into a small space, it is both impartial and accurate. Its tendency toward oversimplification is inevitable, for Mr. Wallbank is dealing with highly complicated material. He is forced to deal very briefly with the various statutes by which the British gave increasing self-government to India; and as a result the impression is created that these statutes conceded very little, which is not true. Those of us who would like to see more Indian history taught in America will welcome Mr. Wallbank's little book; but the real need is for a substantial historical text that could form the basis of a course.

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Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard

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United States History

E. C. Burnett

GENERAL

THE WESTERN COUNTRY IN 1793: REPORTS ON KENTUCKY AND VIRGINIA. By Harry Toulmin. Edited by Marion Tinling and Godfrey Davies. (San Marino, Huntington Library, 1948, pp. xx, 141, \$3.75.) The contributions of English exiles to American liberalism make a fascinating study which remains to be done. One of these English liberals, Harry Toulmin, a dissenting minister, has left a valuable account of the land and society of Virginia and Kentucky in 1793. His report was designed to furnish useful information to prospective English immigrants and therefore it is eminently practical, giving elaborate details of prices and quality of lands, prices of labor and of commodities, means of transportation, crops, climate, slavery, taxes, manufacturing, and commerce. Not only did he rely on his own clear-sighted observations but he received excellent advice and information from prominent planters and county officials. He favored Kentucky as a choice spot of settlement for English immigrants on account of the remarkable fertility of its soil, its climate, its respectable inhabitants, and its enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. Although his report is both candid and critical, it is permeated with the optimistic and booster spirit of the frontier inhabitants. In addition to furnishing concrete information for prospective immigrants, Toulmin's report contains some penetrating observations on the society and mental outlook of the western country, noting a striking existence of tenantry, the indifference of the inhabitants to religion, their democratic spirit, the fluidity of society, the indolence of Virginians of the Tidewater, the absence of beggars, and the growth of emancipation sentiment. A well-balanced and critical introduction is provided by the editors. They have used the Breckinridge and Madison papers, manuscripts at Transylvania College, the collection of Judge Samuel M. Wilson of

Lexington, and contemporary travel accounts. Despite this learned array of authorities, it is surprising to find that no effort has been made to identify persons mentioned in the text. An account of the plantation of "Colonel Bullet" near the falls of the Ohio is given by Toulmin, which is a useful document in understanding the simple beginning of the Kentucky plantation. This planter was undoubtedly Alexander Scott Bullitt who founded the plantation of "Oxmoor," yet no attempt was made by the editors to identify this individual. The reader is left in the dark also concerning the identity of the Taylor family (p. 22) who settled on Beargrass Creek, Kentucky, and produced President Zachary Taylor, of Thomas Power, the enigmatic intriguer with Spain (p. 116), as well as of other personalities. The value of this publication is enhanced by the fact that it fills a gap in the literature of the period and that it is a down-to-earth report relatively free from unsupported generalizations.

CLEMENT EATON, *University of Kentucky*

EDUCATION AND REFORM AT NEW HARMONY: CORRESPONDENCE OF WILLIAM MACLURE AND MARIE DUCLOS FRETAGEOT, 1820-1833. Edited by *Arthur Bestor, Jr.* [Indiana Historical Society Publications, Volume XV, Number 3.] (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Society, 1948, pp. 285-417, \$1.00.) Through the letters selected by Mr. Bestor from the correspondence of William Maclure and Madame Marie D. Fretageot and through the connecting narrative which he has supplied from his wide knowledge of early nineteenth century utopian communities those interested in American social history are now given a new insight into the development of educational theory and practice and additional and vivid material on the short-lived socialistic experiment of Robert Owen at New Harmony, Indiana. The two men, William Maclure and Robert Owen, both wealthy, both "self-made," both philanthropists, were so different in temperament and in judgment as to the best means to be taken to serve the betterment of society which was their common objective, that it is not surprising that their brief association was not harmonious, nor that each should feel that the other contributed heavily to the failure of the enterprise. The letters contain statements of Maclure's objectives, details as to the educational projects at New Harmony, and frank comments on persons and events that add greatly to our knowledge of the New Harmony community and to our understanding of its life and its tribulations. Longevity could never have been one of its characteristics! Too much attention has, perhaps, been given in the past to Owen himself and to the socialistic aspects of the community. This little volume emphasizes the group of scientists and educators attracted by New Harmony's invitation to experimentation and research whose numbers and importance were out of all proportion to the significance of the ephemeral community that began to disintegrate almost as soon as it was established. Charles Lesueur, ichthyologist, Thomas Say, author of *American Conchology*, and Maclure himself, a geologist of distinction, were evidence of the high cultural level of at least a part of those who followed Owen to the Wabash. Joseph Neef, William S. Phiquepal, Madame Fretageot, and Maclure, again, were largely responsible for the introduction to America of the ideas of Fellenberg and Pestalozzi. The letters present this group in its brief association with the New Harmony community. The most interesting aspect of this new material is, probably, the view it gives of Maclure's ideas in regard to education. "Infant" schools in which children could early be reft from the control of their parents and subjected to what were thought by the reformers to be the immeasurable advantages of a Pestalozzian education were but a part of the scheme. A School of Industry, a Workingmen's Association, aid to scientific research, and the subsidized publication of the results of such research

were planned to round out the system. The optimism of the early environmentalists and something of the smugness of the philanthropists and reformers of the day can be found in Maclure's wail that he would like to start out with an infant school composed solely of orphans! The letters are an interesting addition to the New Harmony story. The work of editing and interpreting them has been well and skillfully done, and the book is a distinct contribution to the history of American "Education and Reform."

ALICE FELT TYLER, *University of Minnesota*

SOCIAL THEORIES OF JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY: REPRESENTATIVE WRITINGS OF THE PERIOD 1825-1850. Edited with an Introduction by *Joseph L. Blau*, Associate in Philosophy, Columbia University. [The American Heritage, No. 1.] (New York, Hafner, 1947, pp. xxviii, 383, cloth \$3.75, paper \$1.75.) Dr. Joseph L. Blau's volume is an attempt to convey the nature of the Jacksonian spirit in social theory through a representative selection of writings of that era. The writings include both political and economic schemes with emphasis on the latter. A wide variety of topics is brought under review: democracy, banking, usury laws, monopoly, education, and a number of schemes for the economic reconstruction of society. Most of the authors are now well-known Jacksonians, but the writings here presented are not so well known except to specialists in the field. It may come as a surprise to find the ardent Jacksonian William Cullen Bryant denouncing usury laws as a violation of the "laws of supply and demand, which regulate the value of all . . . articles"; or to find Gilbert Vale proclaiming, "no combination of men will prevent a reduction of wages if labor is not in demand; for at that time employers are bent upon saving expenses, and they will employ more apprentices, women, or men drawn from other employments less profitable, or more disagreeable, or altogether suspend their work if necessary." In presenting such material of the Jacksonians, Dr. Blau performs a most useful service, for he has helped to fill a long-felt need. He has made available some of the basic source material essential for an adequate understanding of the Jacksonian era. That era has received considerable attention in recent years and is of especial interest because of the attempts—unfortunate in most instances—to draw parallels between that and the present period. Many of the authors of such studies have failed to utilize new material now available but have freely used studies prepared at least three decades ago. Dr. Blau's selections make it quite clear that the Jacksonian spirit is not the simple "anti-business spirit" which it is pictured to be in conventional histories, but in fact is a complex phenomenon comprising both business and humanitarian elements. The volume should help considerably in bringing about a reconsideration of the Jacksonian era which has been long overdue.

JOSEPH DORFMAN, *Columbia University*

THOMAS EARLE AS A REFORMER. By *Edwin B. Bronner*, History Department, Temple University. (Philadelphia, Author, 1948, pp. 97.) This booklet rescues from obscurity a man who, though not of the first rank among the Pennsylvanians of his time, deserves to be remembered. A native of Massachusetts, Thomas Earle came to Philadelphia at the age of twenty-one and resided in that city for the remainder of his life. Here he practiced law and was active in promoting certain reforms. Impressed by what he considered the undemocratic nature of the existing constitution of Pennsylvania, Earle labored to secure its revision. In the furtherance of this objective, he devoted much time to speaking and writing on the subject; and, largely through his agitation, a constitutional convention was called, resulting in the constitution of 1838. As a member of the convention, he championed liberal measures, and

many of the amendments that he advocated were adopted. He strongly urged the extension of the suffrage to the Negroes; but this proposal was rejected, and Earle's advocacy of it aroused the hostility of his fellow Democrats, with the result that he was barred from party preferment thereafter. Earle's major activities as a reformer, however, were concerned with the movement for the abolition of slavery. Although favoring immediate emancipation, he was moderate in his approach to the subject and favored compensation of the slaveholders. He deprecated the violent methods of William Lloyd Garrison, whose views he did not share. In the national election of 1840 he was the vice-presidential candidate of the Liberty party. Thereafter, he took no active part in public affairs, but devoted himself to literary pursuits. His last completed work was a biography of Benjamin Lundy. Mr. Bronner's pamphlet is well documented and has a suitable bibliography, though its organization and literary style leave something to be desired

WAYLAND F. DUNAWAY, *State College, Pennsylvania*

A UNION OFFICER IN THE RECONSTRUCTION. By *John William De Forest.*

Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by *James H. Croushore* and *David Morris Potter.* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1948, pp. xxx, 211, \$3.75.) This is a collection of almost forgotten articles which appeared in leading periodicals eighty years ago. Their author, already a writer of proved ability, had had three years of active service in the Union Army and from October, 1866, to January, 1868, was an agent of the Freedmen's Bureau for Anderson, Greenville, and Pickens counties, South Carolina, with headquarters in the town of Greenville. He seems to have performed his duties with a sympathetic understanding of human nature, impartiality, and un-failing common sense; and while doing so he was constantly reflecting on the social problems presented by the kind of people with whom he had to deal confronted by the conditions which the outcome of the war had imposed. His observations and conclusions are presented with the directness, absence of prejudice, and picturesqueness which characterize the highest type of modern on-the-spot newspaper reporting. The first four chapters of the book portray, not without a sense of humor, the varied demands made upon an agent of the bureau and how its policies actually worked when put into daily practice; the last six offer an analysis of the classes of society in the South, which, since he had lived for some time in Charleston before the war, was not based wholly upon what he observed in his so called "satrapy." Although a Connecticut Yankee who had fought the Rebels, he was little influenced by personal prejudice, postwar resentment, or fear of giving offense, and his analysis is discriminating and to a considerable degree accurate. The value of the book is increased by the admirable introduction and footnotes supplied by the editors.

HARRIS E. STARR, *New Haven, Connecticut*

REVOLUTION IN GLASSMAKING: ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE IN THE AMERICAN INDUSTRY, 1880-1920. By *Warren C. Scoville,*

Associate Professor of Economics, University of California, Los Angeles. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1948, pp. xvii, 398, \$5.00.) This study was sponsored by the Industrial Relations Section of M.I.T., the Harvard Press, and the committee on research in economic history of the Social Science Research Council. Mr. Scoville has written a valuable case study of an important industry. It is "a study of the relations of entrepreneurial activity to technological and industrial growth." While the glassmaking industry did not rank in size with such mammoth industries as iron and steel, cotton goods, woollens, paper and pulp, or chemicals, it did conform in many ways to the general pattern of industrial expansion. In

some respects the glass industry was in a class by itself. It passed through one of the greatest technological revolutions in industrial history from 1880 to 1920. The author was fortunate in having the co-operation of the Owens-Illinois Glass Company, and the Libby-Owens-Ford Glass Company, and in having access to their company records. (What a break!) A brief, but interesting history of glassmaking prior to 1880, reveals that there were few innovations of a revolutionary character. The industry had reached the maximum in handcraft development—and was then ready for the technological revolution that followed. That revolution was to center in Toledo, Ohio. Here a group of men, led by Edward D. Libby, Michael J. Owens, and others, were drawn together, and devoted their time, talent, and energy to perfecting and introducing all the newest machines and technological devices that occurred in the glass industry. The results were astounding. Assets valued at \$151,000 in 1890, rose to between \$50,000,000 and \$60,000,000 within thirty years. Annual net earnings increased from \$1,000 to \$3,000 in 1890, to \$6,500,000 in 1920. The glass industry had passed from a handcraft stage to a fully automatic machine stage of production. The development of the automobile industry following 1900 created an unprecedented demand for glass; and the boom in business and residential construction work likewise created a great demand. Nothing short of a technological revolution could meet these increasing demands. The Toledo group led in this revolution, and American industry got its glass.

JOHN W. OLIVER, *University of Pittsburgh*

RULER OF THE READING: THE LIFE OF FRANKLIN B. GOWEN, 1836-1889.

By *Marvin W. Schlegel*. (Harrisburg, Archives Publishing Company of Pennsylvania, 1947, pp. viii, 308, \$4.00.) At the age of fifty-three, Franklin B. Gowen took his own life. Three years earlier, he had lost control of the Reading Railroad, with its then subsidiary coal company, which he had wielded with increasing authority since his thirty-fifth year. In the years of his control, he had built the Reading from a local company to something of its present stature as a major terminal transportation system, and then had seen it crash into bankruptcy, due in no small part to his power almost to hypnotize others, and himself, into belief in his own overoptimism. He had lived through the rebate and free pass era of railroading to appear, in his last years, before the Interstate Commerce Commission, the creation of which he had favored. He was one of the first, if not the first, to settle a wage dispute by arbitration, to make a written labor contract in the mining industry, to bring the anthracite producers into agreement, to advocate the theory of high volume and low price on which so much of American business is done today. He was a lawyer of parts, an orator of power, a master of persuasion, an early practitioner of the arts of business publicity, in a time when most businessmen shunned publicity as the plague. And yet he is—or was, until this fine biography by Dr. Schlegel appeared—a man almost wholly forgotten. He is remembered mostly, and vaguely, as the man who brought in the "Pinkertons" to smash the Molly Maguires, supposedly a terrorist organization in the anthracite mine fields during the hard times of the 1870's. The story of the Maguires, and of Gowen's part in the detection, arrest, conviction, and execution of certain of their supposed leaders and activists, is told more carefully and accurately than it has been told before. The book, however, is far broader. It tells, and tells well, the whole story of one of the most amazingly brilliant careers in American business history. It would have been difficult to write a dull book about such a life, and Dr. Schlegel certainly has not done so. It would have been easily possible to write a merely colorful book, but Dr. Schlegel has done more. He has treated a man and an era objectively,

with discernment, setting down everything—"warts" and all—but so placing it in its setting of time and place as to make a work not only of absorbing interest but also of genuine value. An interesting feature is a foreword in which R. W. Brown, now president of the Reading Company, gives his reactions to some of the problems and solutions of his predecessor of more than half a century ago.

ROBERT S. HENRY, *Alexandria, Virginia*

OPERATIONS SANTA FE: ATCHISON, TOPEKA, AND SANTA FE RAILWAY SYSTEM. By *Merle Armitage*. Edited by *Edwin Corle*. (New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1948, pp. 263, \$5.00.) This book describes the major and minor activities necessary for the operation of a particular but typical large railroad system in the United States, the Santa Fe. Although there is a twelve-page summary of the railroad's development and occasional references are made elsewhere to precedents or previous experience on the Santa Fe, the book is a portrait of the present instead of a history of the past. It is not a technical or exhaustive treatise for the expert but rather a clearly written survey for the general reader written from the public relations rather than the historical viewpoint. Mr. Armitage discusses some aspects of railroading vaguely familiar to everybody, such as the practices of steam and diesel locomotive operation, the science of train dispatching, the organization of the traffic departments, and the problems of the maintenance of way forces. He also touches on many other activities virtually unknown to the layman, including the investigations of the test department, the functions of the valuation department, the tasks of the agricultural development department, the operations of the System Retirement Bureau, the duties of the tax department, the methods of the ice department, the difficulties of the stores department, and the achievements of the timber treating plants. Mr. Armitage's descriptions are sufficiently simple to be easily understandable but contain enough facts to make it clear that a thorough discussion would involve many confusing details. Occasionally his enthusiasm gets the better of him in such remarks as the following: "In this day of stream-lined luxury, there are scarcely a dozen trains in all of America (the Santa Fe excepted) where one can secure food above the standard offered by the very ordinary popular restaurant." But perhaps it is this same enthusiasm that has produced so lucid a book. The volume should be of real use to any layman, including a historian, who wishes a bird's-eye view of that complicated mechanism, a modern railroad system.

WILLIAM S. GREEVER, *Northwestern University*

AMERICA'S SHEEP TRAILS, HISTORY, PERSONALITIES. By *Edward Norris Wentworth*. (Ames, Iowa State College Press, 1948, pp. xxii, 667, \$7.00.) *America's Sheep Trails* completely covers the rise and development of the sheep industry in the United States. The author has painstakingly probed all sources for reliable information on his subject. Many who are fairly conversant with the history of the sheep industry will find in this volume material that is new to them. This is true particularly with respect to the discussions on the beginnings of sheep raising in the various parts of the country. In most instances, treatises on sheep have given this phase of the subject scant treatment. The volume is replete with accounts of the men who were prominent in promoting the production of mutton and wool. In this respect *America's Sheep Trails* is unique, and because of this feature alone it will have a permanent place as a book of reference. Students of American history can well afford to read the stories of these men, because they indicate that sheepmen were not infrequently prominent in public affairs and that their political views were occa-

sionally colored by their connection with the sheep business. I know of no other book in which so much care has been taken to give the origins, types, and breeds of sheep used in establishing sheep raising in different parts of the country. Even the seasoned animal breeder cannot help being amazed by the extensive array of types and breeds that have been tried at one time or another. Perhaps this fact of sheep history is a reflection of the individualistic attitude characteristic of the American pastoralist and farmer. A large part of *America's Sheep Trails* is given over to the sheep industry of the Southwest and West. This is only natural, for it is in these regions that the production of mutton and wool has developed on the largest scale in the United States. But clearly the author has been motivated by the spirit of the historian rather than by the importance of his subject in any given region. One lays down the book feeling that wherever the sheep has left a hoofprint in America, there the author has been.

W. C. COFFEY, *University of Minnesota*

BOURKE COCKRAN: A FREE LANCE IN AMERICAN POLITICS. By *James McGurrian*. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948, pp. xv, 361, \$3.50.) To review an important historical book of 335 pages in 300 words, less than a word a page, is of course impossible. All that is possible, within such limits, is to express a general opinion of the book, which, in this case, is highly appreciative. Bourke Cockran was, by nature, a mugwump, a word taken from the apostle Elliot's translation of the Holy Bible into the Algonquin dialect. There it was used to describe a great and independent leader such as Joshua. During the heated presidential campaign of 1884, the word mugwump was used to describe those who bolted the Republican party. Bourke Cockran often bolted Tammany, but his enemies have succeeded in creating the impression that he was only the mouthpiece of Tammany at its worst. At its best, Tammany has been a bad influence in the Democratic party; at its worst it has been unspeakable. The present volume, if read intelligently, will show Cockran as a mugwump, but only in the original sense of that much-abused word. He changed sides often in his fight for sound government, and Mr. McGurrian gives sound ethical reasons for each of these many changes. Men live in history largely by nature of the biographers they attract. If Shane Leslie, who contributes the brief introduction, had written Cockran's biography at the time when Mrs. Cockran suggested it, the man, Bourke Cockran, would now be better remembered and better understood by the reading public. He is understood, with affection, by his friends. Why Sir Shane disappointed the hopes of these friends has not been made known. Perhaps it was because, in a disturbed era, his sources were on one side of the Atlantic and he on the other. His biography of Cockran is still due the public; for the present excellent volume does not profess to be a biography. It is only an entrancing study of Cockran's career as an orator, one of the greatest that America has produced. But he was also a lawyer of eminence and a politician who possessed great influence in his adopted country. In addition, he was a leader whom the Roman Catholic Church delighted to honor. They called him, "Orator of the Blessed Sacrament." If, when it comes, if it comes, Sir Shane Leslie's *Life of Bourke Cockran* shall prove as successful as is this study of his career as an orator, Cockran will not be forgotten by coming generations. And he deserves to be remembered, for he was a master orator. Dana, the great editor of the New York *Sun* called him "the greatest of the modern world." That means much. But he was also a master mind, which means more, and a master character which means everything. This is the opinion of Cardinal Hayes: "I have never known a better or nobler Christian than Bourke Cockran." Mr. McGurrian too generously attributes to the present writer the honor of having written the sentence

now inscribed upon Bourke Cockran's tombstone; but Mrs. Cockran deserves that honor. When preparing for publication a volume of Cockran's chief speeches, I asked her to summarize in a sentence what she considered his greatest contribution to history. She gave me the ideas. My only contribution was the words, "God gave him the great gift of speech which he used for his faith and his country."

ROBERT McELROY, *Baltimore, Maryland*

GEORGE HORACE LORIMER AND THE *SATURDAY EVENING POST*. By *John Tebbel*. (Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, 1948, pp. xii, 335, \$4.00.) A judicious, accurate, and fairly complete portrait of America's greatest popular magazine editor, "the Henry Ford of American literature," emerges from these pages despite much relatively unimportant material, interminable quotations, and long, wholly boring lists of authors and their works. Lorimer and the *Post* were so many-sided that the job of writing their story is a most difficult one. This reviewer contributed articles and editorials to the *Post* regularly for about twenty years, but would be appalled by the task. Mr. Tebbel was not one of Lorimer's "stable" of writers, but he has had access to Lorimer's correspondence and much other first-hand material. He has attacked it with fairness and indefatigable industry; he produces much rich ore, but does not smelt and refine it. The book shows endless work and pains but lacks skillful organization; to change the metaphor, there is too much chaff lying about. But the portrait is there, if you dig for it. Everyone stopped, looked, and listened when Lorimer entered the room; "he used up all the oxygen." A square-cut, solid block of a man, he had intense blue eyes and a long, strong angular jaw; he had inexhaustible energy, vitality, and enthusiasm. Tough-minded, he was not so much a hard as a strong man. He never said "yes" when he meant "no"; he never said, "Well, possibly so." Fair and honest, he set new standards of publishing integrity. He never made personal attacks upon people in his magazine, although he attacked their ideas bitterly. It is doubtful if any editor consistently pleased as many readers as long as he. At taking mental short cuts he had few equals. Perhaps in error at times (like all of us) he never thought around a subject but through it. A prodigious reader of the masterpieces of literature, of the Bible, and of the philosophers, he was cynical about modern literature. "I am a little uneasy because every now and then someone says that it [stories in the *Post*] is literature, than which there is no surer sign that it ain't. Literature is never discovered until it has been a hundred years dead, and there is nothing but the bones left."

ALBERT W. ATWOOD, *Washington, D. C.*

PRESIDENTS ON PARADE: A PICTORIAL HISTORY. By *Hirst D. Milhollen* and *Milton Kaplan*. With a Foreword by Luther H. Evans, Librarian of Congress. (New York, Macmillan, 1948, pp. 425, \$7.50.) The President of the United States is the world's most powerful and famous ruler. Unlike Supreme Court justices or Cabinet officers, he has no associates of equal or similar rank. Solitary and alone, he sits at the apex of official authority. His lofty position is not approached by any other of his 140,000,000 fellow citizens. Arresting also is the small size of the Presidential group: 32 persons in 159 years. This observation will suggest the justification for the abiding personal interest manifested by Americans for every president from Washington to Truman. Timely at any season and appropriate for this election year is this volume from the Macmillan press. Its authors, Messrs. Milhollen and Kaplan, both of the Library of Congress, are curator of the photographic division and cataloguer of historical prints, respectively. *Presidents on Parade* is a large-paged, attractive album of 426 full-page prints and photographs, portraying the lives of the

thirty-two Presidents. About a dozen pictures are devoted to each President. Each presidential picture-group follows closely this pattern: portraits of a President, his First Lady, birthplace, college, campaign, election, inauguration, residence, deathbed or assassination scene, and grave or monument. The spectator-reader actually witnesses two processions: the parade of the Presidents and the parade of American graphic art. Before his eyes there unfolds the evolution of pictorial techniques from 1789 to today: the wood-cut, steel engraving, lithograph, half-tone photographic reproductions, and the photograph. Under each illustration is a printed caption. These commentaries are brief, factual, nonevaluating, or, in the authors' words, nonpolitical. The ultraconventional and nonappraising quality of these captions is doubtless attributable to the fact that the book is, designedly, a pictorial and not a subject matter history. Members of the historical craft will, however, be reserved in their approval of captions for the mediocre Fillmore, Pierce, and Harding, which are similar in tone to those accorded Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln, "whose like we ne'er shall see again." This vivid volume, however, provides more than pictorial allure: it gives its reader a reawakened and quickened sense of his American heritage. In these ism-conscious days, "as a shining pageant," it portrays "the goodly thing our fathers wrought, and floods with light the paths that have been dim."

CORNELIUS JAMES BROSNAN, *University of Idaho*

HEIRS APPARENT: THE VICE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES. By *Klyde Young* and *Lamar Middleton*. (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1948, pp. vi, 314, \$3.75.) "Errors Apparent" might be a better title for this collection of biographical sketches. For example, within four pages (pp. 85-88) in the chapter on John C. Calhoun one learns that in 1828 Adams men in the South and the West "were hunted down in the woods and tarred and feathered"; that "General John Eaton of Kentucky" was Jackson's Secretary of War and later was "appointed governor of Louisiana"; that Eaton (William Eaton on p. 45) was implicated in the Burr conspiracy and—at the age of seventeen—testified against Burr at Richmond; that "One day Calhoun paid a visit to the President. When he left the White House there was no Vice-President . . . instead there was a new senator from South Carolina"; that Vice President Calhoun, "in a meeting of the cabinet," denounced Jackson without raising his voice while "the old man ranted and raved"; that William Henry Harrison defeated Tippicanoe [*sic*]; that Van Buren promptly vetoed the "National Bank Bill," saying that "he 'would put the damn rascals out of the bank,' and did it"; that Abraham Lincoln served in Congress during Van Buren's administration. While these four pages constitute the book's worst spot, one could point out many other errors of fact equally glaring. The authors, one a journalist and the other an economist and explorer, have leaned heavily upon odd bits of information such as a quiz program or a believe-it-or-not column might feature. This fact, together with the many obvious mistakes, inspires little confidence in their novel interpretations, their sweeping judgments, or their bold statements of what could or should have been, had this or that been otherwise. What goes for an index is almost worthless. All in all, the book is a good example of how history should not be written.

DANIEL M. ROBISON, *Vanderbilt University*

WOODROW WILSON AND AMERICAN LIBERALISM. By *E. M. Hugh-Jones*, Fellow of Keble College, Oxford. [Teach Yourself History Library.] (New York, Macmillan, 1948, pp. xiv, 295, \$2.00.) This is a volume in a new biographical-historical series being edited by A. L. Rowse of All Souls College and designed to bring

the results of recent scholarship before a large reading public. The idea behind the series apparently is to make the study of history as pleasant as possible, by developing a large historical theme around the biography of a great man. Thus Mr. Hugh-Jones has tried to write an interpretation of United States history from 1865 to 1921 by way of a biography of Woodrow Wilson. Unhappily, the book does not altogether come off. The historical parts are for the most part sound, and if they seem to consist mainly of generalizations it should be remembered that the book is written chiefly for British readers. The surprising thing is that anyone reasonably well read in recent American history could have made so many errors of fact and interpretation. Many of Mr. Hugh-Jones's errors derive from the fact that he used secondary materials almost exclusively in the writing of this book, and he consequently repeated the errors that are fast becoming a part of our history. There are in addition mistakes of fact and misspellings of names for which Mr. Hugh-Jones is alone responsible, so many of them, in fact, that it is difficult to believe that this book was not written in a hasty and slipshod way. Dates are tossed about with abandon. In several important instances insufficient research has been done—even in the secondary materials—to avoid error. The crowning blow of all is to see a Britisher repeatedly spell Lord Paunceforte's name "Pounceforte"! Yet the book has a certain outstanding quality that in part redeems these errors of detail. Mr. Hugh-Jones understands Woodrow Wilson, his personality, the qualities that made him such an enigmatic figure. He has also given us an admirable estimate of Wilson's place in the history of American liberalism.

ARTHUR S. LINK, *Princeton University*

THE RISE AND FALL OF THIRD PARTIES: FROM ANTI-MASONRY TO WALLACE. By *William B. Hesseltine*, Professor of History, University of Wisconsin. (Washington, Public Affairs Press, 1948, pp. 119, \$2.50.) This spirited and provocative little volume has its roots in the past but its purpose in the present and the future. Based upon a series of articles written for the weekly *Progressive*, it is not history in the formal sense, accompanied by footnotes and other scholarly paraphernalia. Nor is it a comprehensive and evenly spaced study of third parties in American history. Rather it is an analysis of twentieth century liberalism and a road map for future progressive action in the United States. In scanning the past fifty years Professor Hesseltine finds four chief convictions held by all "genuine" progressive political groups. These are: an intense opposition to a police state and militarism, a continuing emphasis upon the improvement of democratic processes, an insistence upon complete social responsibility from all economic and social groups, and an ardent devotion to civil liberties "for every shade of opinion and for all shades of skin." These, the author insists, together with democratic regional planning, must be the intellectual basis for any successful third party action in the future. In his opinion, neither the "New Deal program of improvisation" was so based, nor is Henry Wallace's "pro-Russian soreheadism." More than a few historians will want to question some of the author's interpretations of the past, and progressive strategists may doubt some of his assumptions about the present and the future. But on the whole the book is a highly stimulating and suggestive commentary upon twentieth century political history and at the same time a worth-while tract for the times.

GEORGE E. MOWRY, *State University of Iowa*

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

NEW YORK: THE WORLD'S CAPITAL CITY: ITS DEVELOPMENT AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO PROGRESS. By *Cleveland Rodgers* and *Rebecca B. Rankin*. (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1948, pp. 398, \$5.00.) This volume is a combination of skill and scholarship. It took skill and discrimination to cover in one volume over three centuries of the history of a city as complex and many-sided as the Dutch hamlet that developed into the financial and now the political capital of the world. The authors have been intimately connected in a civic and scholarly way with the recent history of the city and had at their command the municipal records and library facilities of the city. They have organized their material well and make it tell an interesting story. Within the broad outlines they have strewn many important details and found room to give lively appraisals of the makers of New York from Peter Minuit to Fiorello LaGuardia and Robert Moses. Their chapter on Andrew H. Green as the father of Greater New York is a revealing and inspiring account of a great citizen. Men like Green in the recent past and George McAneny, still laboring, somehow offset the disgraces of Tweed and Croker and other Tammany highbinders and give hope that New York, perhaps even Chicago, can outlive the shame of the cities. The authors are candid in their judgments of some still living and withal eminently fair. Their account is well weighted with politics but the social and economic factors that produced a city of six or seven millions are not neglected. The illustrations are chiefly of New York today and tomorrow. The bibliography is helpful even if it does omit such a fundamental work as Robert Albion's *Rise of New York Port, 1815-60*. And Captain Billopp still sails around Staten Island within twenty-four hours to fix the claim that it belonged to New York and not New Jersey. Because of long service and overwork the captain and his story have earned retirement. In a sober volume that is not a guidebook nor the libretto for boosters' paeans the authors have created out of the past of this fantastic and unbelievable city not only a body but the rudiments of a civic soul. G.S.F.

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

THE ROAD TO VICTORY: A HISTORY OF HAMPTON ROADS PORT OF EMBARKATION IN WORLD WAR II. Two volumes. By Major *William Reginald Wheeler*, Port Historian. Foreword by Major General Charles P. Gross, Chief of Transportation, Army Service Forces. (Newport News, Va., printed under the direction of Yale University Press, 1946, pp. xxiii, 146, plates; xii, 147, plates.) A peculiar thing about Hampton Roads is the speed with which it is forgotten following periods of national emergency. Then, as war clouds gather, a new generation comes along to "discover" this superb port, and feverish bustle and activity characterize the former tranquil settlements lining the historic Virginia roadstead. World War II was no exception and the Hampton Roads Port of Embarkation, which handled some 1,687,000 personnel, followed only New York and San Francisco in volume of tonnage shipped overseas, the third of eight major American ports of embarkation. Major W. R. Wheeler, port historian, and numerous assistants have compiled a monumental record of the vital activities of the port from the date of its activation on June 15, 1942, until September 1, 1945, supplemented by statistical tables of cargo loadings, troop embarkations, debarkations, and other pertinent data. The value of this source material for future historians is obvious, but it is composed of just that and goes no further than its editor's aim of supplying a "direct factual account of service rendered." In this sense it is not a history despite its title. It is understandable that in this account the accomplishments of H.R.P.E. should stand as impressive as they were. But I fear that they are stressed somewhat at the expense of the past record of the port. Apparently Major Wheeler only "discovered" Hampton Roads as late as 1942, when its facilities were well established. True, his first chapter, "The Geographical and Historical Environment of the Port," attempts to set the stage by reference to Jamestown and Captain John Smith and even labors at some length the possible origins of the name of the city of Newport News where H.R.P.E. headquarters were located. But no mention is made of the fact that, unlike most Atlantic seaboard port cities, Newport News did not exist except in name until 1883 when C. P. Huntington extended his Chesapeake and Ohio Railway down to the end of the Virginia Peninsula. And it was the subsequent peacetime development of shipping and shipbuilding with their attendant facilities which made the new port one of consequence when emergencies called for its use. Its premier role as a port of embarkation in the Spanish-American War is dismissed in a single sentence. The two volumes are well printed and lavishly illustrated by some four hundred photographs. Thus each volume consists of half text, half pictures. It would perhaps have been better if the written matter had been in one book and the pictures in the other, but the record is carefully set down and is one in which the entire nation might well take pride.

ALEXANDER CROSBY BROWN, *Newport News, Virginia*

JUDGE ROBERT McALPIN WILLIAMSON: TEXAS' THREE-LEGGED WILLIE.

By *Duncan W. Robinson*. (Austin, Texas State Historical Association, 1948, pp. 230.) The subject of this belated dissertation belongs among the minor figures of our southern border. The author laboriously traces family annals from seventeenth century Virginia to Georgia and Alabama and then about 1825 transports his hero by dubious inference to Austin's colony in Texas. Here the colorful Georgian quickly acquired his nickname and gained a reputation for eloquence and humor of the typical Texas variety that has centered about him a wealth of local tradition. The present book is the first real attempt to subject these tales to critical study and to tell

in readable narrative, backed up by ample footnotes, bibliography, and index, the authentic events of Williamson's colorful life. From 1827 he was a popular figure in Austin's colony. Although associated with that conservative colonizer and an officeholder of the local government, he early allied himself with the radical faction that in 1832 opened resistance to Mexican exactions and three years later brought on open revolt against Santa Anna. One contemporary later styles him "the Mirabeau of our Revolution." In setting forth the causes of this struggle the agitator's trenchant pen equaled in force his ready eloquence. In spite of his physical handicap he also commanded the first formal Texas ranger troop and took part in the campaign that ended at San Jacinto. Thereafter service in the third judicial district of the Republic of Texas and in its Congress completed his public career. He failed to gain office after statehood and died in 1859. Mr. Robinson gathers his relatively scant material from numerous sources, manuscript and printed. Bibliography and footnotes show a working acquaintance with the standard books and best articles dealing with the period. He sets forth an imposing list of those who were helpful to him in the work and likewise shows clearly wherein he profited from the contact. He has supplemented the meager and not altogether significant personal details of Williamson's career with a running description of life in contemporary Texas that is well documented and readable. Format and press work are simple and attractive and the illustrations, mostly of documents, well selected and informative. The author has resurrected a worth-while character in early Texas history.

ISAAC J. COX, *Trinity University, San Antonio, Texas*

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

PIONEER LIFE IN KENTUCKY, 1785-1800. By *Daniel Drake*, M.D. Edited by *Emmet Field Horine*, M.D. (New York, Henry Schuman, 1948, pp. xxix, 257, \$4.00.) Worthy of a place on American shelves beside Mark Twain's *Life on the Mississippi* is the collection of letters by Daniel Drake entitled *Pioneer Life in Kentucky*, describing frontier conditions, 1785-1800. A predecessor of Mark Twain—whom in background and literary qualities of vividness and humor he somewhat resembles—Dr. Drake (1785-1852) received the sobriquet of "Father of Western Medicine" for his medical activities at Cincinnati, Lexington, and Louisville, where he was a dominating figure in the pioneer medical schools of these communities. National fame resulted from his editorship of the *Western Journal of Medicine* while on the Cincinnati College faculty and from his production of two books, one of which Alexander von Humboldt pronounced "a treasure among scientific works" and Professor Silliman of Yale termed "an enduring monument of American genius." These Kentucky letters, written by Dr. Drake at Louisville in 1847-48, were first published at Cincinnati in 1870 as edited by his son, the late United States senator Charles D. Drake; they were reprinted in 1907. The present publication reproduces accurately Dr. Drake's long-hand letters, now treasured in the medical library of the Cincinnati General Hospital, a hospital which he founded. Dr. Drake's writing is happily, to use Charles Lamb's phrase, "advantaged by type"—the clear, beautiful type of this attractive book. The letters are "advantaged" also by the intelligent care with which the editor, Dr. Emmet Field Horine, of the University of Louisville School of Medicine, has supplied notes, corrections, and a biographical sketch. In the 1870 edition, Senator Drake emphasized that Dr. Drake's letters "were not designed as a literary performance. They were merely the offhand familiar talk of a father to his children." Offhand and rambling as they are, his father's letters include many sections which are both a literary performance and a contribution to American history. For here, in picturing words, with little of the "genteel" ornamentation characteristic of the time and section, is recollected reality: an Indian attack upon the pioneer settlement of Mayslick, near Lexington; "heavy chopping"; the burning of brush; log-rolling frolics; corn-husking contests, with whisky libations; deer-hunting; the use of "cut money"; log schoolhouses with "audible study" and many another reminiscence, concluding with Drake's account of his river journey in the winter of 1800 to Cincinnati "to learn to be a Doctor and a gentleman!"

RAYMOND WALTERS, *University of Cincinnati*

MISSOURI AND THE WORLD WAR, 1914-1917: A STUDY IN PUBLIC OPINION. By *John Clark Crighton*, Stephens College. [University of Missouri Studies, Volume XXI, No. 3.] (Columbia, University of Missouri, 1947, pp. 199, \$2.50.) The Commonwealth of Missouri is a border state where the streams of northern and southern immigration have mingled with those of the French, the Germans, and the Irish. It

has a large population, a significant number of electoral votes, and powerful industrial, mining, and agricultural interests. Its political affiliation has been traditionally Democratic. This monograph analyzes and interprets in detail and with understanding the development of public opinion in Missouri during the transitional years, 1914-1917, concerning the World War. Chief reliance has been placed upon newspaper opinion, especially the views of the excellent metropolitan press of St. Louis and of Kansas City, upon the attitudes and activities of those Missourians who held public office, particularly Senator W. J. Stone, then chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, upon the journalistic and other activities of various German-American and Irish-American nationalistic groups, and upon an extensive use of manuscript and documentary sources. Specifically, five matters are competently treated: namely, the economic effects of the war on Missouri, the controversy with England and Germany in regard to neutral rights and duties, the struggle over military preparedness, the election of 1916, and the subsequent events culminating in the declaration of war. In all of these, Missouri appears as a typical American state. There was a quick and seductive prosperity for Missouri industry, mining, and agriculture. There was great irritation over British trade restrictions but far greater condemnation of German submarine warfare. Despite the agitation of German-American elements, assisted by a few congressmen, only a small segment of opinion endorsed an arms and munitions embargo and the Gore-McLemore resolutions. In the preparedness issue both public opinion and congressional action supported the administration program. The hyphen vote was of no significance in the 1916 election, Wilson winning the state and running ahead of those congressmen who had opposed his foreign policy. Missouri was not a center of isolationism or of pro-Germanism.

THOMAS S. BARCLAY, *Stanford University*

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Latin-American History

James S. Cunningham

GENERAL

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can Studies, III.] (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1946, pp. 193, \$2.25.) By relying primarily on José Toribio Medina's *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Chile* Mrs. Vernon has produced a fairly good monographic study of Pedro de Valdivia. In beginning her account she spends a great deal of time pointing out the lack of information on Valdivia's early life. Once over this hurdle, however, the biographic material expands to develop the difficulty of organizing an expedition and of marching from Peru to Chile. Valdivia's strength and his weakness are shown in relation to the difficulties which plagued the expedition after its arrival in Chile—lack of provisions, Indian wars, and personal squabbles. Much help was given him by his mistress in coping with these problems. One of Valdivia's driving desires was to have full confirmation of his governorship; to further his ambition he returned to Peru to help the Spanish crown's representative defeat Gonzalo Pizarro. As a result Valdivia was, with some limitations, confirmed in his position. On his return to Chile his main problem was in the founding of new towns and fighting the Indians, in which process he was killed either in late 1553 or early 1554. The period of the conquest of Chile is an extremely interesting one, but Mrs. Vernon has made a dry biography out of what could have been a study, as seen through Valdivia, of monarchism against feudalism. The 1540's is the period of the advanced labor laws, tribute laws, and *encomienda* laws. But these are not mentioned in the study. Valdivia was a representative of the crown, and the implications are that he upheld the crown's position against the feudalistic tendencies of the *encomenderos*. But there is simply the implication and no real grasp of the question. Mrs. Vernon speaks of Indian unrest but does not seem to realize that this might have been caused by the forced labor of the Indians which she implies existed. Possibly one of the reasons for the confusion is that the terms *repartimiento* and *encomienda* are never really explained and sometimes, to Mrs. Vernon, seem to mean land grants and at other times the right to collect tribute from the Indians. The author therefore seems to miss one of the major points of the Spanish empire period of the mid-sixteenth century, namely, that of the question of feudalism against crown control which certainly must have been felt in Chile as it was in all parts of the new empire. A conqueror in himself is important but a conqueror placed squarely against the background of his age is much more important.

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* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

American Historical Association

The annual meeting of the American Historical Association will be held at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington on December 28, 29, and 30. The main theme will be a centennial observance of the revolutions of 1848, to which a number of sessions will be devoted. Both American and European aspects of the 1848 movement will be touched on. The program committee wishes to emphasize, however, that some two thirds of the sessions will not deal with the revolutions of 1848 in any way, so that members of the Association whose interests do not lie in that direction will find the meeting of value. *Response to the requests of the committee* has been uniformly helpful and cordial; over two hundred persons will have places on the program, representing a cross section of older and younger members of the profession and of different types of institutions and parts of the country. About a dozen other societies will meet jointly with the American Historical Association.

Rear Admiral James L. Holloway, jr., USN, the superintendent of the United States Naval Academy, invites members of the American Historical Association and their wives to visit the Academy on the afternoon of Thursday, December 30, 1948. The superintendent plans to have the guests visit Bancroft Hall, the Chapel, the Naval Academy Museum, the Armory, the engineering and academic groups, and the Library. At a reception for the guests at the Officers' Club, they will meet members of the faculty of the Naval Academy.

Other Historical Activities

The papers of Moreton Frewen, British economist and author—some thirty thousand pieces—constitute the largest collection of manuscripts recently acquired by the Library of Congress. The collection consists mainly of personal correspondence of the Frewen family and letters from outstanding British and American persons covering the period from about 1885 to 1923. Frewen was a bimetallist of some repute and a writer on various phases of economics and international finance; his papers reveal not only his continuing interest in these subjects but also his lifelong concern with social and political matters on both sides of the Atlantic. Substantial series of letters are included from such British figures as Earl Grey, governor general of Canada, in regard to land speculation in Canada, English politics, and Canadian-American relations (*ca.* 1884-1922); Lord Balfour (*ca.* 1887-1921); Lord Lansdowne (*ca.* 1888-1922); and the Right Honorable Andrew Bonar Law (*ca.* 1910-20). Frewen's American correspondents included financiers, literary men, and well-known figures in political life. Of special interest are the letters

from Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, *ca.* 1894-1922, which are concerned with many phases of English and American politics.

Mrs. Paul W. Bartlett of Washington has presented to the Library a number of interesting and valuable groups of papers—some ten thousand pieces—many of which had recently been salvaged from fire by a member of the Library staff. The collection, *ca.* 1740 to 1920, consists of personal and business papers of two prominent figures in eighteenth century Maryland, Samuel Galloway of "Tulip Hill" and his son John Galloway; personal, business, and political correspondence of Virgil Maxcy, solicitor of the Treasury and biographer of Calhoun, which is especially rich in matter relating to Maryland politics; and a relatively small number of letters addressed to Francis Markoe, son-in-law of Maxcy. These three groups supplement the Galloway Collection acquired by the Library some forty years ago. In addition, Mrs. Bartlett has presented papers of Samuel Franklin Emmons, eminent nineteenth century scientist, which contain material relating to explorations in the Far West by Emmons and Clarence King, extensive correspondence with European scientists relating to international congresses of geologists, and a few items regarding Paul Wayland Bartlett, well-known sculptor of our own time.

The Library has recently acquired nearly two hundred papers of Elias Boudinot of New Jersey. They date from 1773 to 1785 and consist mainly of official letters addressed to or referred to Boudinot as commissary-general of prisoners and later as president of the Continental Congress and its acting secretary for foreign affairs. The most valuable group, and the largest, deals with prisoners. Official reports from Boudinot's deputies and petitions from British prisoners and from the families of American prisoners all show the pressing need for supplies. Among the many papers relating to exchange of prisoners are letters effecting the exchange of Colonel Ethan Allen for Colonel Archibald Campbell.

A small but valuable group of papers of the eminent nineteenth century journalist, diplomat, and archaeologist, Ephraim George Squier (1821-88), recently added to the Library's holdings, supplements an already large collection the greater part of which was presented by Squier's family in 1905. In addition to correspondence and manuscript notes on his archaeological studies, the new collection includes several volumes of clippings from English, French, Central American, and United States publications relating to Squier's published writings and his other varied activities, together with occasional notes. These constitute a valuable source of information.

Photostats of a small group of selected items of official correspondence between Lord Lyons, British Minister to the United States, and Lord John Russell (1st Earl Russell), Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, dealing with the slave trade, 1861-62, have recently been transferred to the Library by the State Department. The papers are mainly from the Slave Trade Papers and others in the Foreign Office Series and from the Russell Papers, both in the Public Record Office, London.

The personal and official papers of the late Carter Glass (1858-1946), member of Congress, United States senator, Secretary of the Treasury, and newspaper publisher of Lynchburg, Virginia, have been presented to the University of Virginia Library by Senator Glass's son and daughter, Mr. Carter Glass, jr., of Lynchburg, and Mrs. John G. Boatwright, of Danville, and by his grandson, Mr. Powell Glass, jr., of Lynchburg. Including correspondence with Presidents Garfield, Wilson, Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, Roosevelt, and other national leaders, the collection contains more than a third of a million pieces, and is rich in material on the creation of the Federal Reserve System, banking and currency legislation, the League of Nations controversy, the neutrality debates of World Wars I and II, the Supreme Court dispute of 1937, and many other aspects of national affairs in the first third of the twentieth century.

In addition to materials in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, previously announced as available for inspection, Mr. Roosevelt's papers relating to his campaign for nomination as United States senatorial candidate in the New York state Democratic party primary in 1914 and his papers as governor of New York, 1929-32, are now open. Also recently made available are a number of items from Mr. Roosevelt's collection of Dutchess County and Hudson Valley historical materials. Requests for information concerning these materials should be addressed to the Library.

The National Archives has received a grant of \$20,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation for use in furthering the agency's file microcopy program and other reproduction work in the service of scholars. This grant will enable the National Archives not only to reproduce greater quantities of research materials but also to fill orders for positive prints of file microcopies more promptly than has been possible in the past. More than 2,000 rolls of file microcopies have been produced since the program was inaugurated. Among those completed recently are microcopies of some 325 volumes of diplomatic and consular records pertaining to relations between the United States and China up to 1906; 92 volumes of letters from Navy captains received by the Secretary of the Navy, 1807-25; and records of the office of the Secretary of the Interior relating to the Fort Kearney, South Pass, and Honey Lake Wagon Road, 1857-64 (8 rolls).

The attention of students of colonial, state, and local history is directed to the rich and invaluable material that will be made available at the State Documents Microfilm Project of the Library of Congress. Picking up where the work was suspended in 1942 the project has been pushed vigorously to completion in the years 1946-48. The task is now one of editing and arranging by states a microfilm reproduction of session laws and statutes, public documents (legislative, executive, administrative, and judicial) from earliest colonial days. The collection is enriched by the reproduction of peripheral material such as rare pamphlets, broad-

sides, etc. A special feature is the collection of constitutions and laws of the American Indians. The search for material has ranged widely and many rare or hitherto unknown items were found in private collections. A more detailed account of the project has been prepared in mimeographed form by Mr. W. S. Jenkins, director of the State Documents Microfilm Project, Library of Congress.

Among projects announced in the *Microcard Bulletin* (no. 1, June, 1948) are two that will interest medievalists. Barnes and Noble, Inc., will sponsor a reproduction on microcards of the first fifty volumes of the Publications of the Early English Text Society, Original Series, and the first fifty volumes of the Extra Series. Most of these hundred volumes are out of print. The book price is estimated at \$600; the microcards will cost approximately \$200. The second project entertained by the same publisher concerns the entire Rolls Series, originally published by the British Public Record Office in 264 volumes, and valued at \$3,000. In microcard form the set will come to \$710. The cards are the regular library size, and must be read under a special reader providing a magnification of 24 diameters. This is priced at \$195. Address The Microcard Foundation, Wesleyan University Station, Middletown, Connecticut.

The syndics of the Cambridge University Press have announced a new *Cambridge Modern History*. It will not be a revision of the volumes initiated by Lord Acton but a new work throughout. The advisory committee to carry out the plan is composed of G. N. Clark, Provost of Oriel College, Oxford University, who drafted it, E. A. Benians, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, and J. R. M. Butler, Regius professor of modern history, Cambridge. Twelve volumes will cover the period from the Renaissance (1493-1520) to the Era of Violence (1878 or 1901 to 1945). There will be two additional volumes, the first entitled *Companion to Modern History* (bibliography, chronology, money, weights, and measures), and the second, an *Atlas* of wider scope than its predecessor. Each volume will run something over twenty chapters, each of 12,500 words with no bibliographies but with indispensable footnotes. The contributors will be largely British scholars. The austerities of Lord Acton's devotion to scientific impartiality becomes fifty years later an impartiality that allows opinions to be expressed freely so long as they do not confuse the reader. The format provides a page about the size of the one you are reading. It is hoped that publication will start in the fall of 1950. Volume I will be under the editorship of Professor G. R. Potter, professor of modern history, Sheffield University.

Among bulletins recently issued by the University of Virginia are the following: *Abstracts of Dissertations*, covering the three-year period, 1945-47, and including for the first time brief abstracts of masters' theses; *Publications and Research*, listing published work of members of the university faculty for the five-

year period 1943 through 1947. *A Plea for Federal Union, North Carolina, 1788*, a reprint of two rare pamphlets, with an introduction by Hugh T. Lefler, of the University of North Carolina, was published in July by the McGregor Library of the University of Virginia. The university's Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, which supported research in and publication of a number of historical studies between 1926 and 1941, has been revived, under the direction of Wilson Gee, following a wartime suspension.

The following grants have been made recently by the Carnegie Corporation: (1) \$150,000, payable over a period of five years, toward support of an Institute of European Studies at Columbia University. The purpose of the Institute "is to develop a graduate-level program of teaching and research, drawing upon all of the departments in the social sciences and the humanities which are in a position to contribute to an understanding of Western Europe." (2) \$60,000, payable over a period of four years, to Princeton University for study of contemporary national and international problems in the School of Public and International Affairs. "In an effort to provide more realistic training for its graduate students and at the same time be of maximum assistance to the Federal Government, the School of Public and International Affairs plans to set up a series of research projects, each focused on a particular problem which concerns one or several Government agencies. Advisory groups will include Government and, when appropriate, industrial representatives."

The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission is the recipient of \$50,000 appropriated by the state of Pennsylvania for research projects in Pennsylvania history.

The following awards in history and related fields have been granted by the Social Science Research Council: *Research training fellowships* (to Ph.D. candidates for work on dissertations): Margaret R. Beattie, Cornell University, for training in agricultural economics and research on the social and economic history of land use and ownership in the corn belt; David Bushnell, Harvard University, for a study in Colombia of the liberal movement during the first years of that country's independence; Francis H. Conroy, University of California, for a study of social and cultural aspects of Japanese expansion into Hawaii; Charlotte J. Erickson, Cornell University, for study of the recruitment of European immigrant labor by American industry, 1865-85; Franklin L. Ford, Harvard University, for study in France of the role of the French aristocracy during the feudal reaction, 1715-40; Robert A. Potash, Harvard University, for research on early industrial development in Mexico, 1821-46. *Economic history fellowships*: Robert B. Johnson, University of Minnesota, for preparation of a dissertation on government regulation of economic enterprise in Virginia, 1750-1820; Harold C. Passer, Harvard University, for preparation of a history of the electrical manu-

facturing industry in the United States; Jelle C. Riemersma, University of California, for research on the development of early capitalism as influenced by the Protestant ethics of some Dutch merchant groups, 1500-1700; Robert R. Staley, Stanford University, for study of economic history and for research on the role of government in the Pennsylvania economy, 1681-1776; Clarence L. Ver Steeg, Columbia University, for research on the career of Robert Morris as Superintendent of Finance in the American Revolution. *Grants-in-aid*: Gray C. Boyce, Northwestern University, for preparation of a completely revised and augmented edition of *A Guide to the Study of Medieval History*; Eberhard F. Bruck, Harvard University, for a history of the migration of a religious idea through the laws of the Eastern and Western world (renewal); Robert F. Byrnes, Rutgers University, for analysis of the character and significance of the anti-Semitic movement in the Third Republic; Lynn M. Case, University of Pennsylvania, for an analysis of French opinion on foreign affairs during the Second Empire; Elizabeth Cometti, Woman's College, University of North Carolina, for a study of the impact of war on the civilians of the American Revolution; Edward W. Fox, Cornell University, for a study of the origins of the Dreyfus affair in French party politics, 1893-97; Vernon H. Jensen, Cornell University, for a history of industrial relations in the nonferrous metals industry (renewal); Cyrus H. Karraker, Bucknell University, for a study of the social and economic significance of piracy in the American colonies; Alma M. Luckau, Vassar College, for a study of the relations between the German army and the Soviet government, 1920-33; Charles L. Lundin, Indiana University, for a study of the growth of German annexationist interest in the eastern Baltic region, 1868-1939; Donald L. McMurry, Russell Sage College, for a study of the American Railway Union strike of 1894; Donald G. Morgan, Mount Holyoke College, for a study of the life and constitutional philosophy of a Jeffersonian judge, Justice William Johnson, the first dissenter; Francis S. Philbrick, University of Pennsylvania, for preparation of an introduction to the laws of the Illinois Territory, 1809-18; David H. Pickney, University of Missouri, for a study of Paris under the Second Empire: the emergence of a modern metropolis; S. Fanny Simon, James Monroe High School, New York City, for a study of the influence of Juan B. Justo and Luis E. Recabarren on the political and social life of Argentina and Chile; Harold G. Skilling, Dartmouth College, for a study of the Czech-German national conflict in Bohemia, 1867-1939; Graham H. Stuart, Stanford University, for a history of the organization, procedure, and personnel of the Department of State (renewal); Eric Voegelin, Louisiana State University, for completion of a history of political ideas (renewal); Bell I. Wiley, Louisiana State University, for a study of the life and character of the common soldier of the Union Army.

Among the Guggenheim Latin-American Fellowship Awards for 1948 are: José María Ferrater Mora, professor of philosophy, University of Chile, for

studies of the main currents of philosophy in the United States; José Antonio Portuondo Valdor, literary critic, Havana, for the preparation of a history of literary criticism in Spanish America.

The Loubat Prize for 1948 has been awarded to Professor Lawrence H. Gipson for the six published volumes of his *British Empire before the American Revolution*. The amount of the prize is one thousand dollars and is awarded every five years for the best work published in English on the history, geography, ethnology, archaeology, philology, or numismatics of North America. The first award in 1893 was to Henry Adams. Other winners include Herbert L. Osgood, George Louis Beer, Clarence W. Alvord, C. O. Paullin, and S. E. Morison. The jury of award this year was John K. Wright, director of the American Geographic Society, Leslie Spier, professor of anthropology, University of New Mexico, and Dexter Perkins, professor of history, University of Rochester. The prize is sponsored by Columbia University.

Essays in competition for the Alexander Prize of the Royal Historical Society must be submitted by February 28, 1949. The prize is awarded for the best essay on any subject approved by the literary director. For further particulars apply to the Secretary, Royal Historical Society, 96, Cheyne Walk, London, S.W. 10. The prize was not awarded in 1948.

Professor Archibald Henderson, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, is seeking to locate the originals of two letters to Willie P. Mangum, one from Allen Jones Davie dated Nashville, December 3, 1844, and the other from George L. Lowden dated Charleston, S. C., December 16, 1844. Both were printed in an article on "Paul Jones" by S. B. Weeks in the *Publications of the Southern History Association*, X (July, 1906), 228-32. It is, however, the lost originals that Professor Henderson desires and about which he will welcome any information.

Professor A. P. James of the University of Pittsburgh is collecting for publication the papers of Major General Edward Braddock. He will welcome greatly any information concerning papers not in public collections.

Scholars desiring to use documents in the files of the State Department should write for a copy of Department Regulation 420.1, "Use of the Records of the State Department." Requests should be directed to Richard A. Humphrey, assistant chief, Division of Historical Policy Research, Department of State, Washington 25, D. C. State Department files prior to 1923 are in the custody of the National Archives and are governed by the regulations of that institution.

An International Council on Archives, intended to strengthen relations among archivists in all countries, to promote and to facilitate the use of records, and to

co-operate with other organizations in the advancement of the documentation of human experience, was established in Paris during a three-day meeting of archivists, June 9-11, sponsored by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. Solon J. Buck, former Archivist of the United States and present chief of the Division of Manuscripts and holder of the Chair of American History at the Library of Congress, represented the United States. Seven other countries—Czechoslovakia, England, France, Italy, Mexico, the Netherlands, and Norway—were also represented by voting members, and there were observers for Australia and the U. S. Office of Military Government for Germany. Herbert O. Brayer, UNESCO honorary consultant on archives and archivist of the state of Colorado, also attended most of the sessions. A constitution was adopted and officers were elected to serve until 1950. They are: president, Charles Samaran, director of the Archives of France; vice-president for the Western Hemisphere, Solon J. Buck; vice-president for the Eastern Hemisphere, Hilary Jenkinson, deputy keeper of the Public Record Office in London; treasurer, D. P. M. Graswinckel, archivist of the State Archives of the Kingdom of the Netherlands; and secretary-general, Herbert O. Brayer. Two deputy secretaries-general, Oliver W. Holmes of the National Archives of the United States and Jan H. Olstad of the Norwegian National Archives, were appointed. It is hoped that a meeting of the executive board can be held in the United States in 1949. The first general meeting of the International Council on Archives is tentatively scheduled to be held in Paris in the summer of 1950, probably in the week preceding the proposed first postwar International Congress of Historical Sciences.

A one-day Anglo-American conference of historians held at the Institute of Historical Research in London in July included addresses by Professor M. M. Postan on "English Economy in the Thirteenth Century," Professor Mildred Campbell on "Servants to the Foreign Plantations," Dr. G. S. Graham on "The Deflection of Naval Strategy by Politics in the War of American Independence," and a discussion on "Historians in the Making," opened by Professor V. H. Galbraith and Sir Harold Bell. About two hundred historians, including a small contingent of Americans, attended the conference. Professor H. Hale Bellot was named chairman of the Anglo-American Historical Committee for 1948-49. It is hoped that a full conference may be held in July, 1949.

The annual meeting of the Mediaeval Academy of America was held in New York at the Pierpont Morgan Library on April 30 and May 1, 1948, with addresses by Professors Pearl Kibre of Hunter College, "The Nations in the Mediaeval Universities," M. L. W. Laistner of Cornell, "Pagan Schools and Christian Teachers," W. A. Nitze of the Universities of California (Los Angeles) and Chicago, "The So-Called Twelfth Century Renaissance," and J. W. Spargo of Northwestern University, "Etymology and Early Evolution of *brocard*." The following

officers were elected: president, F. N. Robinson, Harvard; third vice-president, Grace Frank, Bryn Mawr; clerk, A. C. Baugh, Pennsylvania; councilors: Walter W. S. Cook, New York University, Einar Joranson, Chicago, S. Harrison Thomson, Colorado, and Gerald G. Walsh, Fordham. Miss Hope Emily Allen and Professors Kenneth J. Conant, Harvard, Austin P. Evans, Columbia, and B. J. Whiting, Harvard, were elected Fellows of the Mediaeval Academy of America. Professor W. E. Lunt, Haverford, was elected president of the Fellows, and Dr. E. H. Wilkins, formerly president of Oberlin College, was elected scribe. The next annual meeting of the Mediaeval Academy will be held May 8-9, 1949, in Toronto. This Canadian meeting will be the Academy's first outside the United States.

The eighth annual meeting of the Economic History Association was held in Cambridge, Massachusetts, September 10-11, 1948. Under the general heading "The Recurrence of Unrest in Economic History," the following papers were read and discussed: Vincent W. Bladen, University of Toronto, "The Centenary of Marx and Mill"; William Aydelotte, University of Iowa, "The England of Marx and Mill as Reflected in Fiction"; Arthur L. Dunham, University of Michigan, "Economic Unrest in France in 1848"; Crane Brinton, Harvard, "The Manipulation of Economic Unrest"; J. Bartlet Brebner, Columbia, "The Myth of Laissez-Faire"; Eric F. Goldman, Princeton, "Economic Unrest in the United States"; Bradford Welles, Yale, "Economic Unrest in Antiquity"; and Ralph E. Turner, Yale, "Economic Unrest in Medieval Europe."

The Far Eastern Association, Inc., which has published the *Far Eastern Quarterly* since 1941, was reorganized on April 2, 1948, at a meeting in New York City, into an active, scholarly, nonpolitical, and nonprofit professional association. Among its objectives are (1) to unite all persons interested in the study of the Far East, (2) to promote Far Eastern studies, and (3) to provide means for the publication of scholarly research and bibliographical material through the *Far Eastern Quarterly*, an annual *Far Eastern Bibliography*, and the monograph series. Its officers include Arthur W. Hummel, Library of Congress, president; Robert B. Hall, Michigan, vice-president; Wilma Fairbank, Secretary; Hugh Borton, Columbia, treasurer; Earl H. Pritchard, Chicago, editor of the *Quarterly*; John K. Fairbank, Harvard, editor of monographs; and nine directors. Annual dues are \$6.00. Requests for information and membership applications should be sent to Wilma Fairbank, 41 Winthrop Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Norwegian historians invited their Scandinavian colleagues to a Northern Historical Meeting at Lillehammer, June 29 to July 2, 1948. In effect this is the seventh such gathering since the close of World War I. The latest meeting was at Helsingfors in 1939. Discussions this year were to center upon the factors, past

and present, which have conditioned democratic developments in the Northern countries.

The first annual meeting of the Alabama Historical Association was held in Montgomery on April 17, 1948. Dr. Wendell H. Stephenson, the guest speaker, read a paper on "Some Pioneer Alabama Historians." New officers of the association, which has about 350 members, are James F. Sulzby, jr., Birmingham, president; John W. Lapsley, Selma, vice-president; Miss Maude M. Kelly, Montgomery, secretary-treasurer. The journal of the association, the *Alabama Review*, is edited by William Stanley Hoole and sponsored by the University of Alabama.

The Office of Education has set up a section for the social sciences in the division of higher education. The appointment to the section of the following staff has been announced: specialist for history, Dr. Jennings B. Sanders, formerly in the department of history of the University of Tennessee; specialist for economics, Dr. J. Laurence Phalan; specialist for geography, Dr. Otis W. Freeman; and associate chief for the social sciences and acting specialist in political science, Dr. Claude E. Hawley. The section will serve as a clearinghouse for information concerning teaching and techniques in the field of the social sciences.

A conference on the teaching of American history was held at Stanford University on August 6 and 7 under the auspices of the university's Institute of American History. Three formal addresses were presented: "The Obligation of the Scholar to Be a Teacher," by Professor Edgar E. Robinson; "Russian-American Relations: Legend and Fact," by Professor Thomas A. Bailey; and "The Roots of American Radicalism," by Professor John D. Hicks.

The Regional Conference on the Humanities—extended to include the social sciences and other disciplines—held in Colorado in July, 1946, published its proceedings under the title *Humanistic Values for a Free Society*. The discussions included "not only the content of the subjects of instruction in our colleges and universities but also the methods of teaching those subjects . . ." Copies may be secured from the Social Science Foundation, University of Denver.

On July 5 President Truman and President Romulo Gallegos of Venezuela participated in the dedication in Bolivar, Missouri, of a statue to the South American Liberator. The statue to Bolívar in Central Park, New York, was dedicated in 1883, the centennial year of his birth. Two Americans, George Washington and Henry Clay, are honored by statues in Caracas and by named avenues and plazas.

The Weddell Professorship of History of the Americas has been established

by the trustees of Rollins College in memory of the late Ambassador and Mrs. Alexander W. Weddell from whose estate Rollins received \$100,000. A. J. Hanna has been elected the first occupant of the chair.

Personal

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES

Charles E. Odegaard of the University of Illinois has accepted the position of director of the American Council of Learned Societies. He succeeds Professor Cornelius Kruzé, who is returning to Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut.

Herman Kahn, formerly director of the Natural Resources Division of the National Archives, has been appointed director of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park.

Robert H. Bahmer, formerly chief of the Departmental Records Branch of the Adjutant General's Office of the Department of the Army, has been appointed assistant Archivist of the United States.

In Yale University, William Huse Dunham, jr., has been designated George Burton Adams professor of history and has been appointed chairman of the department, and Archibald Smith Foord has been promoted to assistant professor of history. Robert S. Lopez is on leave of absence for the current academic year and is spending the year in Italy on a Guggenheim fellowship.

Beatrice F. Hyslop is on leave from Hunter College for the fall semester. She is in Paris, where she is working on a supplement to the *Repertoire critique de cahiers de doléances*, and other topics on the French Revolution.

Jeannette P. Nichols, of Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, has gone to England as visiting professor at the University of Birmingham.

The Business History Foundation has now completed its staff for the writing of the history of the Standard Oil Company (N.J.) and the Humble Oil and Refining Company. For the latter Dr. K. W. Porter has been called from the teaching of American history at Vassar College to spend the next three years in research and writing. He has the assistance of Mr. Robert E. Ferris, a graduate of the Harvard School of Business.

Francis S. Philbrick, emeritus professor in the University of Pennsylvania Law

School, has joined the staff of the Illinois State Historical Library to prepare a volume to be entitled *Illinois Territorial Laws*.

Daniel H. Thomas, chairman of the department of history in Rhode Island State College, has been granted a sabbatical leave for the current year and a C. R. B. Advanced Fellowship by the Belgian American Educational Foundation for research and writing in Europe.

A. W. Garner, professor of history in Mississippi State College for thirty-nine years, has retired as head of the department and become professor emeritus. John K. Bettersworth has succeeded Professor Garner as head of the department. Harold S. Snellgrove has been appointed assistant professor of history in the same institution.

In Columbia University Benjamin Hunningher, formerly a member of the faculties of classics and languages, Municipal Gymnasium, The Hague, succeeds Adriaan J. Barnouw as Queen Wilhelmina professor of history, language, and literature of the Netherlands. Following his retirement Dr. Barnouw plans to complete work on a cultural history of the Netherlands.

George G. Cameron, formerly of the Oriental Institute in the University of Chicago, has been appointed professor of Near Eastern languages and literatures at the University of Michigan. During the fall term he is serving as annual professor of the Baghdad School of the American Schools of Oriental Research. He will take up his duties at Michigan on February 1.

Tracy E. Strevey, formerly chairman of the department of history in Northwestern University, has been named dean of the College of Letters, Arts, and Sciences, University of Southern California, to succeed A. S. Raubenheimer, who assumed his new duties as educational vice-president in September.

Robert D. Gregg, formerly head of the department of history in the Carnegie Institute of Technology, has been appointed professor of history and dean of the College of Liberal Arts in Willamette University, Salem, Oregon.

Erwin H. Ackerknecht has been appointed to the new professorship in the history of medicine at the University of Wisconsin.

T. A. Larson has been named head of the department of history in the University of Wyoming to succeed the late Dr. Laura A. White.

Arthur Pierce Middleton, formerly research associate of the Institute of Early

American History and lecturer at the College of William and Mary, has been appointed director of the department of research, Colonial Williamsburg.

Hilmar C. Krueger, professor of history in the University of Cincinnati, has been granted a leave of absence for the second semester of the academic year 1948-49 to continue his research in the Genoese archives. In the same institution Garland G. Parker and Oscar E. Anderson have been appointed assistant professors of history.

Julius W. Pratt, dean of the graduate school of arts and sciences of the University of Buffalo, has resigned as chairman of the department of history and government. He is succeeded in the chairmanship by John T. Horton.

Edgar J. Fisher, who served as assistant director of the Institute of International Relations from 1935 to 1948, has accepted appointment as visiting professor in the division of social studies at Sweet Briar College.

Richard W. Van Alstyne has been promoted to professor of history and international relations in the University of Southern California.

John K. Fairbank has been promoted to a full professorship in Harvard University.

Margaret Bingham Stillwell, formerly curator of the Annmary Brown Memorial in Providence, has been appointed research professor of bibliography in Brown University.

Gerald Capers has been promoted to professor of history in Tulane University.

The University of Colorado announces the promotion of Robert G. Athearn to assistant professor and the appointment of Robert A. Kress as instructor in history. Earl Swisher, associate professor of history, has returned from a year's leave of absence in China, where he did research work in and translation of Chinese documents of the Palace Museum in the field of Sino-American diplomatic relations for the period 1840-1861.

Constance McLaughlin Green, who has been working on the history of the Red Cross, has resigned to take a place on the staff of the Historical Division of the War Department as chief historian on ordnance.

Sidney Ratner has been promoted to associate professor of history in Rutgers University.

Carl G. Gustavson has been promoted to associate professor of history in Ohio University, Athens.

Kent State University, Kent, Ohio, announces the appointment of Alfred A. Skerpan as associate professor and Fred B. Bloomhardt as assistant professor of history, and the promotion of Leon S. Marshall to a full professorship and Maury D. Baker to an associate professorship. Dr. Baker has been awarded a travel and maintenance grant from the Department of State and has been granted a leave of absence for the year 1948-49 to enable him to study and do research in Latin America.

Charles Hallberg has been promoted to associate professor of history in Queens College, Flushing, New York.

The University of Pennsylvania announces the appointment of Holden Furber, formerly of the University of Texas, as associate professor and Theodore von Laue as assistant professor of history. Dr. Furber will devote half of his time to the new program in South Asian studies being inaugurated there this fall.

Douglas K. Reading has been promoted to associate professor of history and Howard D. Williams to assistant professor in Colgate University.

Howard M. Ehrmann has been appointed associate professor of history in the University of Michigan, to begin his duties in the second semester of 1948-49.

Mildred Throne, formerly of Washburn Municipal University, Topeka, Kansas, has accepted a position as associate editor of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

Benjamin Webb Wheeler has been promoted to associate professor of history and William Raymond Leslie to assistant professor of history in the University of Michigan.

Syracuse University announces the appointment of Murray G. Lawson, formerly of the College of the City of New York, as assistant professor of history, and the promotion of Robert J. Shafer to assistant professor of history.

Wells College announces the appointment of Ruth McIntyre as assistant professor of history for the year 1948-49 and the promotion of Helen Nutting to assistant professor of history. Mary Elizabeth Bohannon, chairman of the department, has been granted sabbatical leave for 1948-49.

Owen Ulph, formerly of Reed College, has been appointed assistant professor of history in the University of Nevada.

Anthony Lee Milnar, formerly instructor at Georgetown University, has been appointed assistant professor of history in Loyola University, Chicago.

David F. Long has accepted an assistant professorship in history in the University of New Hampshire.

William B. Bristol has been appointed assistant professor in Latin-American history and James W. Morley has been appointed instructor in Far Eastern history in Union College, Schenectady.

RECENT DEATHS

Theodore Calvin Pease died of a heart attack at his Urbana, Illinois, home on August 11, 1948. Death came suddenly while he was in full stride, carrying on his work as teacher in the summer session and as head of the history department at the University of Illinois. Born in 1887 at Cassopolis, Michigan, he was graduated from Lewis Institute, Chicago, in 1904, then studied at the University of Chicago, receiving the bachelor's degree in 1907 and the doctor's degree, *summa cum laude*, in 1914. During his early years at Illinois, Theodore Pease, like so many others, admired and was deeply influenced by Professor Evarts Greene, and his last published work was a careful and discriminating appreciation of that fine gentleman and scholar. In the First World War he was an officer in the A.E.F., serving with distinction in a series of offensives, including the Meuse-Argonne, and with the army of occupation in Germany. For more than thirty years he was on the history staff at the University of Illinois; his headship of the department dated from 1942. His specialized studies were concerned with seventeenth century England, the American West (especially the Old Northwest with emphasis on the French and British background), and the history of Illinois. To this must be added his never-ending interest in historical editorship and archival advancement. His association with Clarence W. Alvord, his long-standing leadership in the Illinois Historical Survey, his general editorship of the *Illinois Historical Collections* (1920-39), his own books in that series, his volumes on Illinois, and his presidency of the Illinois State Historical Society (1946-47) constitute a notable record of achievement in state and regional history. For the undergraduate there was an informed and finished scholarship in his lectures; for the doctoral candidate a rigid unreadiness to accept inferior work as well as a stimulating resourcefulness in the opening of vistas and the suggestion of fields to be explored. His largeness of physical stature was fittingly combined with commanding influence and high-powered energy. Those who knew him closely were enriched by his vivid conversation, wide reading, ready wit, and appreciation of humor. In 1927

he married Marguerite Edith Jenison, a helpmate who has been also colleague and historian in her own right. Only those who have been in the Pease home can fully understand the richness of their marriage.

His writings were characterized by mastery of sources, unfailing thoroughness in scholarly standards, and effectiveness of literary style. To list his books in full would require a sizable bibliography, but they include: *County Archives of Illinois*, 1915; *The Leveller Movement*, 1916 (for which he was awarded the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize); *The Frontier State, 1818-1848 (Centennial History of Illinois, Vol. II)*, 1918; *Illinois Election Returns, 1818-1848*, 1923; *Laws of the Northwest Territory*, 1925; *The Story of Illinois*, 1925 (of which a revision was scheduled for publication in 1949); *The United States*, 1927 (a general college text); *Diary of O. H. Browning, Vol. I* (with J. G. Randall), 1927; *Selected Readings in American History* (with A. S. Roberts), 1928; *The French Foundations* (with R. C. Werner), 1934; *Illinois on the Eve of the Seven Years War, 1747-1755* (with Ernestine Jenison), 1939.

He participated in the founding of the Society of American Archivists and for ten years edited the *American Archivist*.

Laura A. White, professor of history and head of the department at the University of Wyoming, died in Laramie, Wyoming, June 29, 1948, of a coronary thrombosis. She had been on sick leave from the university since November, 1945, when she suffered a cerebral hemorrhage. Although she had not been able to teach since 1945, she had resumed work on a biographical study of Charles Sumner.

Miss White was born in Bloomington, Illinois, September 19, 1882. She received the A.B. degree in 1904 and the M.A. degree in 1912 from the University of Nebraska. She received her Ph.D. degree from the University of Chicago in 1917. Except for a few leaves of absence for research and travel, and for one semester of teaching in 1933 at Wellesley, she remained continuously at the University of Wyoming from 1913 to 1948.

Miss White's special interest was the middle period of American history, particularly the South before and during the Civil War. She was the author of *Robert Barnwell Rhett*, and contributed articles to various historical journals. It is hoped that arrangements can be made for the completion and publication of her biography of Charles Sumner, to which she devoted a dozen years.

At the time of her death, Miss White was a member of the Council of the American Historical Association. She was also for many years an active member of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the Southern Historical Association. She devoted much time to the American Association of University Women and Phi Beta Kappa. An enthusiastic and effective teacher, a tireless research worker, and a constant inspiration to her colleagues and students, Dr. White contributed richly to the University of Wyoming.

Kan-Ichi Asakawa died at his vacation home in Vermont August 11, 1948, at the age of seventy-five. Born in Nihonmatsu, Japan, and educated at Waseda University in Tokyo, where he received the degree of Bachelor of Laws in 1895, he came to the United States, where he was to spend virtually all of the remainder of his life. He continued his education at Dartmouth, graduating with a Litt.B. in 1899 and at Yale, which institution awarded him a Ph.D. in 1902. He began his academic career at Dartmouth as a lecturer on the history and civilization of eastern Asia. While in Hanover he published his thesis, *Early Institutional Life of Japan* (1903) and followed it in 1904 with a booklet, *The Russo-Japanese Conflict: Its Causes and Issues*. The year, 1906-1907, found him back in Japan, a professor of English at his alma mater, Waseda. He was already under appointment at Yale. Returning to New Haven, he spent the rest of his academic life as a member of the history department of the university. He was professor of history from 1930 until his retirement. During his latter years he was an associate fellow of Saybrook College. From 1905 until her death in 1913 he was married to Miriam Dingwall of New Haven, whom he met as a graduate student.

At Yale Asakawa taught primarily in the graduate school, giving courses in feudalism, and served from 1907 until his death as curator of the Chinese and Japanese collections of the Sterling Memorial Library. He helped to build these into distinguished collections, toward the end of his life contributing his own historical library of some 3,700 volumes. He achieved a leading place in American scholarship and a high reputation in Europe with two outstanding publications: *The Origin of Feudal Land Tenure in Japan* (1918) and *The Documents of Isiki Illustrative of the Development of Japanese Feudal Institutions* (1929).

Asakawa won and held the friendship of his students and colleagues with his kindliness, his generosity, and his unflagging devotion to his scholarly work. In him modesty was united with eminence.

Sir Richard Burn, historian of India, geographer and numismatist, died at Oxford on July 26, 1947, at the age of seventy-six.

Maurice de Wulf, Belgian historian of medieval philosophy, died on December 23, 1947. He is best known for his history of medieval philosophy, first published in French (Louvain, 1900), frequently reprinted, and also translated into English and German.

Charles A. Beard died August 31, 1948. A more adequate notice will appear in the January issue.

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